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6 FEBRUARY 1987

Southeast Asia Report

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MALAYSIA

COMMENTARY ON SRV TIES TO U.S., OTHERS

BK051425 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Jan 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The visit to Hanoi of two United States senators has been rightly described by the media as a significant development in relations between the two countries. The high-level reception given to the visiting American legislators has also been quite understandably the subject of much comment. Although once more the American senators have pointed out the desire of their country for normalizing relations with Vietnam, such normalization will not come about without some change in Hanoi's current policy towards Kampuchea. On this matter, the view of the American administration and of most American legislators presumably, is in complete harmony with the posture that Malaysia and its ASEAN partners have consistently adopted. A negotiated political settlement in Kampuchea is what is being asked for, and that exactly has been the diplomatic goal of ASEAN for several years. Unfortunately, inspite of all manners of good offices, mediation efforts, and persuasions by a number of national [as heard] leaders Vietnam has not shown any positive signs of wanting to change the present political order in Kampuchea.

The visit of the American senators comes soon after the conclusion of the Vietnamese Communist Party Congress that will be the prelude to some changes in Hanoi's political and economic policies. It will be an excellent juncture for Vietnamese Government leaders to think seriously of cultivating normalization of relations with the United States. It is more than 12 years since the end of the Vietnam war and American withdrawal from the former Saigon. It is appropriate for Vietnam to plan the resumption of diplomatic relations and to accept America's aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country. From all accounts the recovery from the ravages of war has been agonizingly slow. That condition can be attributed largely to Vietnam's own policy of isolating itself from the outside world and developing economic and other ties with the Soviet bloc alone. This is hardly translated to be in its own long-term interest whatever might be the considerations as far as the immediate national interest is concerned.

By cutting itself off from the main stream of international political and economic life, Vietnam is putting the clock back on its own progress. What is more, where new technology and productivity are concerned, the United States

and other Western affluent nations had more to provide than the Soviet Union, for its economy in many sectors is just about a step or two above that nation. This is exactly the mistake that another communist nation, namely China, obsessed with ideological conservation, has made until recently. Today, China is trying hard to catch up with the other countries. That goal has given its society a new outward looking frame of mind which is much healthier than the former inward looking attitude.

ASEAN hopes that new leadership in Hanoi will seek first to bring constructive changes in its external relations so that a new chapter will begin in 1987 in Vietnam's relations with the outside world.

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CSO: 4200/265

LABOR MINISTER URGES WAGE RESTRAINTS

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 22 Dec 86 p 2

[Text]

MALAYSIA, which no longer has the general comparative advantage in labour costs, should ensure that the wage expectations of its workers are lowered, says the 1984-85 Labour and Manpower Report.

The report, released on Saturday by Labour Minister Datuk Lee Kim Sui, also suggested that the country should work towards reducing the production costs of many of its commodities which have escalated through the years.

It said the increasing production cost is one of the crucial factors weakening the competitiveness of Malaysian commodities viz-a-viz its Asean neighbours.

The report said countries such as Thailand, Sri Lanka and India have lower wage levels for skilled workers while others such as South Korea and Taiwan have comparable wage levels and higher productivity.

"Trade union leaders must face hard facts and unpleasant alternatives in making excessive wage demands so that total wage cost does not increase in order to enable business to stay afloat until times are better."

"Malaysian wages must be

flexible and capable of adjusting to different economic situations," it added.

The report said the production cost of palm oil will have to be reduced through increased productivity which, in turn, is achievable through increased yield and reduction of labour of cost.

The development of higher yielding planting materials and more efficient management and agricultural practices will provide the thrust towards cost reduction and productivity increase.

The cost of producing one tonne of palm oil in Malaysia ranges from \$500 to \$800 while in a neighbouring country, the cost can be about \$100 lower.

Cost reduction in the palm oil industry will have to come through investment and advancement in research and development.

The report said the production cost of natural rubber will also have to be reduced through achieving maximum yield level and reducing labour content especially in rubber tapping and collection.

In addition, cost saving measures in processing and packaging should be appropriately employed.

The estate sector could reduce cost by increasing their stand per ha during replantings to up to 600 trees, managing expenditure on general charges efficiently, rescheduling programmes of field upkeep and employing mechanisation in weeding, manuring, and disease control.

As for smallholders, production cost can be cut by planting and replanting RRIM 900 series and other modern precocious clones, increasing stand per ha and achieving uniform tree stand especially by using polybag materials as well as to reduce the immaturity period.

In the tin industry, the report said Malaysian production cost appeared fairly competitive in 1984 following the Government's move in October 1982 to increase the threshold price below which no export duty is paid to \$26,400 from \$23,148.53 a tonne metal.

It noted that under the normal market situation of 1981, Malaysia, in all types of tin mines, was not the lowest cost producer.

This was caused mainly by high export duty and low grade of ground being mined.
— Bernama ES

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CSO: 4200/279

RADIO COMMENTARY ON COMMONWEALTH PROBLEMS

BK071415 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Malaysian prime minister, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, has with his characteristic frankness called for a realistic evaluation of what the Commonwealth Association stands for. He drew attention to the great risk that the association could become an exclusive club and nothing more.

Malaysia is a member of the Commonwealth, but it feels that the ideals of the association should be better reflected in its policies and activities. In respect of the disparities in living standards, even within the Commonwealth, Dr Mahathir, mixing wit with realism, said that wealth available was not available in a common way.

The association has always devoted a lot of attention to the need to help the smaller and poorer nations and to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. However, in terms of what has really been done or accomplished, independent observers have a right to feel disappointed, if not cynical. In fact the so-called affluent nations seem to have great difficulties in persuading the parliaments and other representative groups to approve even 1 percent of the gross domestic products as aid to the developing nations.

The term "new international economic order" was introduced in 1974 to refer comprehensively to programs for radical restructuring of the world economy in the interests of the developing countries. A lot more needs to be done. What is frustrating to many developing nations like Malaysia is the reluctance of industrial nations to allow manufactured and processed goods to enter their markets.

A constant cry of the developing nations of the Commonwealth is trade, not aid. They want fair opportunities to sell their products and to lessen their undue dependence on the production of a few primary commodities. It is because of the widespread disillusionment that exists that many feel that the Commission of the South that Dr Mahathir has founded is the best institution for promoting greater self-help and cooperation among Third World nations. It is particularly gratifying to Malaysia and Malaysians that so many African leaders have given wholehearted support to Dr Mahathir's ideas.

At the meeting of speakers from Commonwealth parliaments, which concluded in Kuala Lumpur earlier this afternoon, the overseas participants praised the Malaysian prime minister's initiatives in a number of international issues.

Another contemporary problem that the Commonwealth has not been dealing with to the satisfaction of many of its members is the apartheid policy. The current unrest in the Republic of South Africa is of much concern to the neighboring black African states, all of whom are members of the Commonwealth Association. The Malaysian prime minister has consistently pressed for mandatory economic sanction as a most effective way of inducing the white racists of South Africa to yield to black African demands for political power-sharing. This issue has dragged on and on, and the African states are critical of the coldly noncommittal attitude of some European nations toward African aspirations. Under the circumstances, it cannot be very surprising that Malaysia cannot be widely enthusiastic or sentimental about the Commonwealth.

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CSO: 4200/265

MUJAHIDIN PRESENCE IN OIC SUPPORTED

BK061630 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 1108 GMT 6 Jan 87

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 6 Jan (OANA-BERNAMA)--Malaysia said Tuesday it will support any effort to give the Afghan Mujahidin movement some sort of representation at the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) foreign ministers [meeting] later this month.

Deputy Foreign Minister Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzir said the mujahidin were more united now.

They now had an umbrella organisation called Alliance for the Afghan Mujahidin bringing together all the major mujahidin groups and this had proved to be a credible force in fighting the Soviet occupation troops, he told reporters after Afghan Mujahidin Political Committee Vice-President Janbaz Sarfaz called on him here.

The Afghan Mujahidin, who have been resisting the Soviets and the forces of the Kabul puppet regime since the Soviet invasion on 29 December 1979, have appealed to the United Nations, the OIC and other world organisations to grant them official recognition. The 6-day OIC meeting in Kuwait begins 21 January.

Abdul Kadir said Janbaz had told him of the latest developments in the Afghan war and that the Kabul regime's call for a ceasefire from 19 January was "purely for propaganda."

Janbaz had also said the government of Afghan Communist Party leader Najibullah "will collapse in a few days if the Soviet troops are pulled out."

Abdul Kadir congratulated the Afghan Mujahidin for their unrelenting struggle against the troops of the Soviet Union and the Kabul regime.

He said the Afghan experience had inspired Third World countries, including Malaysia and made them realise that any aggressor country could not easily subjugate another country if the latter possessed the will and fighting spirit.

The OIC meeting will be divided into three sessions--the senior officials meeting (21-22 January), the foreign ministers meeting (23-25 January) and the summit meeting on 26 January.

Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad and Foreign Minister Rais Yatim are scheduled to attend.

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FOREIGN INVESTOR GUIDELINE CHANGES GIVEN

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 24 Dec 86 pp 1, 16

[Article by Lim Hock Chye]

[Text] THE Government has agreed to allow the expanded equity of a manufacturing concern to be taken up by foreign investors as long as this is not in contravention of the agreement signed by the shareholders.

In announcing this yesterday, Deputy Prime Minister Encik Ghafar Baba added that although this new change to investment guidelines is meant for investments during the period between October this year and December 1990, the "relaxed foreign equity regulations" are also applicable to all manufacturing projects approved in the last six months (April 1 to September 30).

Encik Ghafar noted that many manufacturing projects approved for producing goods for the domestic market have not been implemented.

"The Government has decided that any local company which has been granted a manufacturing licence to produce local goods for the domestic market but which has failed to start operations within six months without valid reasons will lose the licence and a foreign company will be allowed to produce the goods."

Encik Ghafar said conditions pertaining to the recruitment of expatriate officers by foreign firms are also very attractive.

Five executive posts, including a key position, will be granted automatically for projects with foreign investment exceeding US\$2 million (US\$1-M\$2.00).

In addition:

■ An expatriate officer moving from one post to another within the same organisation will not be required to obtain new work pass, but a new expatriate officer replacing a serving officer will have to get a pass;

■ All work passes will be valid for the period of the posts approved, subject to a maximum of 10 years; and;

■ All such pass holders will be issued multiple entry visas for the period stated in the work passes.

For foreign sponsored joint venture projects with local participation, of which 70 per cent or more of the equity are held by foreigners, the balance will be reserved for Bumiputeras in line with the NEP requirements.

However, if the foreign equity is less than 70 per cent, at least 30 per cent will be reserved for Bumiputeras.

For projects operated jointly by Bumiputeras and foreigners, with the latter holding 70 per cent or more of the equity, the rest of the stake will be allocated to Bumiputeras.

Where the foreign stake is 70 per cent, the rest of the shares will also go to Bumiputeras. However, if Bumiputeras are unable to take up their part of the entitlement, the Trade and Industry Ministry will allot part of it to non-Bumiputeras.

For projects undertaken by non-Bumiputeras in partnership with foreigners in which the latter own 70 per cent or more of the equity, the balance will go to non-Bumiputeras.

If the foreigners hold 70 per cent or less, 30 per cent will be allocated to non-Bumiputeras and the rest to Bumiputeras. However, in special cases, non-Bumiputeras may be allowed to acquire the rest of the equity with approval of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

PETRONAS NEGOTIATING EXPLORATION AGREEMENTS

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 27 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Lim Hock Chye]

[Text]

PETRONAS, the national oil corporation, is negotiating oil exploration agreements involving a total investment of \$200 million with five foreign companies.

Petronas chairman, Raja Tan Sri Mohar Badizzaman, who is also the economic advisor to the Prime Minister told Business Times yesterday: "It is a good sign. The fact that they have come to us indicates that people still have confidence in us."

"With the deals, greater employment opportunities will be generated and more importantly, our country's revenue will increase. This is important because oil is still the number one revenue earner of this country."

If all goes according to schedule, he said, the five agreements will be signed by the middle of next year.

"We are negotiating now and are very close to the final stage. Once signed, each company is expected to invest about \$50 million to \$60 million. And if they discover oil, they will invest more," he added.

Since January, Petronas has signed five letters of intent with oil drilling companies from Korea, Taiwan and the US and Japan. At present,

Petronas contractors are Exxon and Shell.

Raja Tan Sri Mohar said Malaysia has the fundamentals in oil exploration activities and this is one of the plus factors which attracts foreign oil companies.

In addition, he said chances of oil and gas discoveries in this country are good considering the vast areas with potential and the country's high exploration rate.

"Considering the country's exploration success ratio of 1:6, which is good by international standards, the chances of discovering oil and gas are excellent."

Commenting on the country's economy, Raja Tan Sri Mohar said: "We have experienced the hard times and have managed to pull through. I would like to believe that our economy will pick up in a year or so."

"For instance, oil price is slowing going up. And with the recently signed Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) accord, it is hoped that oil price will reach US\$18 a barrel."

"Likewise, the price of palm oil. It is slowing picking up. We have to be patient. All these are positive signs for us."

He said Malaysia's crude oil reserves can last another 15 years. However, he hoped that new discoveries can be found before the oil is depleted. The country's current rate of production is 450,000 barrels a day.

Raja Tan Sri Mohar said: "About eight years ago, we were told that our crude oil could last for only 15 years, but we discovered other reserves. However, our gas supply can last us about 100 years."

On plans for Petronas Carigali next year, he said: "Oil exploration involves high risks. We will not embark on it if we are not ready as yet."

"However, Petronas Carigali is planning to develop facilities and offshore export/storage terminal at the Dulang field which is expected to cost about \$1 billion."

This field will be jointly developed by Esso Production Malaysia Inc and Petronas Carigali.

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CSO: 4200/279

PAS THREAT PROMPTED UMNO SABAH MOVE

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 24 Dec 86 p 16

[Text] UMNO'S expansion to Sabah was prompted by anxiety over the threat posed by PAS which has established itself in the state. PAS would create disunity among the people of Sabah as it had done between Muslims and non-Muslims and among Muslims themselves in Peninsular Malaysia.

The Government does not want the problems caused by PAS on the peninsula to spread to Sabah, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad told reporters at the end of his visit to Kota Kinabalu for discussions with government officers and Barisan Nasional component parties.

"In Peninsular Malaysia, we have the issues of the two imams, two mosques, refusal to pray together (with Umno members), and non-recognition of marriages and of halal (sanctioned in Islam) slaughter of animals."

The Government does not want this phenomena to emerge in Sabah, and Umno, wise to the ways of PAS, considers its expansion to Sabah of crucial importance.

Dr Mahathir, who is Umno president, said Umno had before this been asked to go into Sabah but had declined. However, now that PAS had spread to the state, it is vital that Umno do the same.

He said the last elections in the state revealed pervasive PAS influence although the party failed to win any seat. The August general election in Sabah was held only at parliamentary level.

"We decided to enter Sabah after the August general election but did not announce this. The election results underlined the need for Umno to spread its wings to the state."

He said the DAP electoral wins in the general election were not a cause for concern because the DAP concentrated only on urban areas. "The DAP does not worry us because it constitutes only an urban problem," he added.

On his meeting with political parties in the state such as Ueno, the ruling Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS), Bersepadu and Momogun as well as a group calling itself the Sabah Umno Pro Tem Committee headed by Datuk Mohamed Dun Banir, Dr Mahathir said he explained the reasons behind Umno's move and asked for understanding of Umno's aspiration.

According to him, the explanation was accepted by "friends in the BN, particularly PBS, and he is confident problems, if any, will be settled through negotiations within the BN to the benefit of the country".

He said he did not at all touch on the two memorandums submitted by PBS outlining its stand on Umno's expansion to the state.

"The PBS brought up several questions and I cleared up doubts on these matters. I feel PBS now has a better understanding but I do not propose to set out in detail what I explained and the response by the PBS."

"What is important is that we are still on good terms and I am confident our brothers in the PBS will maintain this relation-

ship and we will be able to cooperate within the BN."

Reiterating that the PBS now had a better understanding, he said he did not ask it to accept his clarifications but only to think of national problems and BN problems in a comprehensive context.

"I did not come here to ask this or that person to accept this or that thing. I only gave my views and I believe that with common sense and rational thinking, all problems will be surmounted."

He said his meeting with parties interested in joining Umno such as Ueno, Momogun and the Datuk Mohamed Dun Banir group was to provide them with an explanation so there will be no more questions about the Umno move.

Asked the position of the nine Ueno state assemblymen, who under the Sabah Constitution face disqualification of state assembly membership if they join Umno, he said this was not raised in the discussions with the state BN.

The Prime Minister said he is confident this problem will be overcome but declined to say whether it will be through political or other means.

"Technical problems of their membership (in Umno) still exist and will be settled, with time."

He also stressed that Ueno still exists despite Umno being officially declared established in the state. — Bernama

/8309

CSO: 4200/279

USNO DISSOLUTION THOUGHT UNLIKELY

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 28 Dec 86 p 10

[Article by Zainon Ahmad]

[Text] APPARENTLY Usno is unlikely to be dissolved in April or in the near future. It will continue to exist, even if it is just to prevent the party's nine representatives in the State Assembly from losing their seats.

"I never said the party will be dissolved in April. What I said was that it may be dissolved once Umno is established in Sabah," said Usno secretary-general Datu Hamid Mustapha.

Yes, why indeed, should it be dissolved; the resolution for its dissolution by the party extraordinary general assembly last month notwithstanding.

After all very few parties announce their dissolution. The Alliance has not been dissolved despite it being superceded by the Barisan Nasional.

It may even be dangerous to dissolve Usno, agreed some of the party leaders. (Apparently, this point was overlooked by the delegates at the EGM).

Other people may one day resurrect the name and use it as a rallying point for those who may by then become disenchanted with Umno.

Thus, some people might be disappointed to learn that there will not be any by-election after all in the nine constituencies now represented by Usno.

One who will be definitely disappointed is an enterprising peddler of imitation designer watches from Jalan Chow Kit in Kuala Lumpur. He was in Oya during the by-election there. And he was also in Sulaman recently.

He admitted that 1986 was a good year for him in Sabah. Unfortunately for him, pressing family affairs in his home town prevented him from going to Sabah during the State election this year.

"I try not to miss elections or by-elections in Sabah and Sarawak. People are usually loaded and spend freely during these occasions."

There seems to be no hurry now. The constitutional lawyers who have been told to study the implication of Article 18 of the Sabah Constitution that "...every elected or nominated member of the Legislative Assembly shall vacate his seat if he resigns or is expelled from or for any reason whatsoever ceases to be a member of the political party for which he stood or to which he belonged to when he was elected or nominated to the Legislative Assembly" can now relax.

The fate of the nine Usno representatives

have now taken a back seat. Having decided that Usno should continue to exist, the position of the nine is not going to be endangered after all.

After the flurry of activity following the Usno general assembly and the EGM which decided on an Umno-Usno merger, giving the impression that Umno was in a hurry to enter Sabah, matters have settled to a boring routine of Usno preparing a list of its members to be submitted to Umno.

There is no merger. Usno members are not going to become Umno members overnight. The nine representatives in the State Assembly are not going to become Umno members just yet. It is now likely that they may submit their applications to become Umno members only after the Assembly has been prorogued for the next State election.

And so the scenario drawn by many people that Umno is going to press for a coalition Government with the PBS, which is headed by Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan, after the nine have become Umno members is unlikely to come to pass after all.

Some even said that Umno was toying with three alternatives to ensure that the nine did not lose their seats when they join Umno.

Switching

One was the continued existence of Umno, the second was through a political solution and the third was by amending the Federal Constitution to say that the Sabah law prohibiting Assemblymen from switching parties goes against the spirit and substance of the Eighth Schedule on disqualification of elected representatives.

At one point some people even talked of the possibility of another Sabah crisis as the PBS would oppose any attempt to make it accept a coalition Government through another Sabah Formula.

Some in Umno were even at one time jubilant that this was going to be the case. They thought that finally they are going to see the "proud nose of the PBS rubbed in the dust."

But Umno evidently is not going to get its feathers ruffled just for short term gains. It is not in a hurry. "Umno never acted in haste," said party president Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad in Kota Kinabalu on Tuesday.

It is the long term plans of Umno that the PBS fears. It has registered its protest. This is understandable as it wants to continue to dominate Sabah.

But this is not going to be for long now. For once Umno is established in the State, it is likely to demand for representation on the State Barisan National council. While the PBS was able to ride roughshod over Usno, it is unlikely that it is going to be able to do that with Umno, the senior partner of the Barisan Nasional.

The PBS fears that Umno's presence will limit its present independence in the State. It considers this to be the real objective of Umno's ex-

pansion into Sabah. Thus it is not satisfied with Dr Mahathir's explanation that Umno's main reason for "spreading its wings to Sabah" was to counter Pas influence.

To the earlier explanation that Umno's entry into the State was to look after the interests of the Muslims and the Bumiputeras, the PBS had responded by saying that it was a multi-racial and multi-religious party and therefore was capable of looking after the interests of all communities.

Thus, it said there was no necessity for Umno to enter the State. It also claimed Pas and the DAP were no threat.

But for all its protests Umno has evidently drawn up a programme of its own. It has already established a toe-hold in the State in the form of a protom committee made up of Umno supreme council members. And it will not be long before Umno Sabah becomes a reality.

Umno was told that a merger with Umno was out of the question. But the party has been given the honour of forming Umno Sabah. Umno hoped to absorb all the hardcore Umno members who had remained with the party through thick and thin.

It is without doubt that the target is these members. They must form the core of Umno Sabah even though they are unlikely to be able to contest for posts in the April Umno elections.

"If we have to sacrifice for the greater interests

of the Muslims and Bumiputeras in Sabah, I suppose we'll have to," said Datuk Hamid.

Umno could have accepted the self-proclaimed Umno Sabah protom committee headed by former Berjaya vice-president Datuk Mohamed Dun Banir, who was also a former Umno leader.

Also Datuk Dzulkifli Abdul Hamid could have been considered to set up a protom committee. Datuk Dzulkifli was a former long-time Umno vice-president. He later joined the PBS but has since left the party.

But Umno decided that it wants "loyal members." Datuk Dun said Dr Mahathir in his meeting with him and his followers, Datuk Dzulkifli and Momogun leader Edward Sinsua stressed this to them.

According to him the Umno leader told them it did not matter if Umno did not get many people of Sabah as members of the party as long as those who became members are dedicated and loyal.

He told them he did not want those who would switch parties "as easily as changing shirts." Umno members must remain loyal even if they are bypassed in the selection of candidates for elections.

Operate

Dr Mahathir told them that they should be motivated by being able to contribute to the party struggle.

Like Datuk Dun and his followers, Mr Sinsua wore an Umno badge when he met Dr Mahathir.

When asked where he got the badge from, he said that Datuk Dun gave it to him. Datuk Dun said that the Umno party headquarters had sent

him the badges when he submitted a list of about 8,000 names to be considered as Umno members. Mr Sinsua said he had yet to submit his list.

Datuk Dun said he had dissolved his so-called protom committee and is now working to register those who wanted to be Umno members.

Meanwhile, the protom committee headed by Usno permanent chairman Datuk Kassim Kamidin is preparing a list to be submitted to the Umno headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

The names are taken from the Usno branch lists. Once Umno approves the lists, those who are former Usno members will become Umno members in former Usno branches. Umno is likely to include other names from others who have submitted their own lists into these branches.

Branch meetings will be called to elect office bearers. These meetings will be supervised by officials from Umno headquarters.

However, the Umno supreme council has yet to decide whether divisions could be formed to streamline the administration of the branches.

According to the party constitution, members of divisional committees must be members for two years before they can hold positions on the committees.

But as stated by Umno vice-president Ghafar Baba who is also in charge of the Umno Sabah project: "The setting up of the divisional committees should be allowed."

However, this is up to the supreme council. It is also the council which can decide to accept the lists of names submitted by the protom committee to be equivalent to filling in of membership forms.

Should the supreme council decide in favour of this two points, then Umno Sabah would be established in time for the party assembly in April.

But more importantly, Umno would be able to operate in Sabah long before the next State election.

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CSO: 4200/279

JOBLESS RATES ROSE IN 1986

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 22 Dec 86 p 2

[Text]

THE unemployment rate in Malaysia rose to 7.6 per cent in 1986 from 6.7 per cent in 1985, according to the Labour and Manpower Report 1986-87.

The report said that while 806,204 people entered the labour market during the period, the economy generated only about 651,000 new jobs.

Total employment, however, grew at an annual rate of 2.6 per cent during the period from 1981 to 1985. Out of the total number of jobs created during this period, about one-quarter was accounted for by the Government services sector.

Over 60 per cent of all employees in the public sector were under the payroll of the Federal Government. They numbered 424,600 out of a total of 709,184 employees in 1985.

The report said the professional and managerial group constituted the uppermost strata in the public service, accounting for about 6.5 per cent of total employment. The largest group was the industrial and manual group amounting to about 32 per cent of total.

The clerical and technical group constituted a total of 267,037 employees or 38 per cent of the public sector in 1985.

The report said that more than 72 per cent of the Government servants fall between 30 and 60 years. Employment in the construction sector registered the fastest rate of growth at 7.0 per cent per annum. A total of 108,000 jobs was created.

The manufacturing sector, a major generator jobs in the 1970s, provided only about 72,000 new jobs during the period from 1981 to 1985 compared with the target of 125,000 jobs.

It said the rate of growth of employment in manufacturing, at 1.0 per cent per annum during the period, was below the expectation of the Fourth Plan of 3.3 per cent per annum.

The report said the bulk of employment in the manufacturing sector is concentrated in production operations with a total of 382,412 workers out of 479,839 or 78 per cent in the manufacturing sector.

The clerical workforce made up 8 per cent of the total manpower while the managerial and professional staff made up 30,018 or 1 per cent of the total number of paid employees.

In the agricultural sector, it said, about 43,000 new jobs were created during the period compared with 70,000 anticipated in the Fourth Plan. The share of the sector in total employment fell from about 40 per cent to 38 per cent during the Plan period.

It said employment in estates have been falling. In 1975, there were 187,200 workers in the rubber industry which dropped to 138,130 in 1984.

However, the workforce of the oil palm estates increased to 94,600 in 1984 from 66,500 in 1975.

Employment in the mining sector fell from 80,100 in 1980 to 63,500 in 1984.

On unemployment, the report said a labour force survey showed that unemployment was very high among the young, particularly among those in the 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 age groups.

Recent data indicated that about 80 per cent of the unemployed in Peninsular Malaysia, 70 per cent in Sabah and 80 per cent in Sarawak were first-time job seekers.

It said that before 1980, unemployment was most prevalent among Indians and least prevalent among Chinese, but this trend changed by 1980 when Bumiputeras became the ethnic group with the highest unemployment rate of 7.0 per cent. — Bernama ED

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MALAYSIA

EIGHTEEN COOPERATIVES PLACED UNDER RECEIVERSHIP

BK071702 Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Excerpt] Eighteen deposit-taking cooperatives, DTC's, were placed under receivership by the High Court in Kuala Lumpur today. Justice Datuk Harun Hashim made the order following a Bank Negara [Central Bank] application, which was heard in a packed courtroom late this evening. The bank had named 23 DTC's in the application, but five cases were postponed to tomorrow and Monday [12 January].

At one stage of the hearing, Justice Datuk Harun described the DTC's as sick and needing doctors. He said the bank and financial institutions which were nominated by Bank Negara to rescue were only medicines. According to the bank counsel, Encik (C.D. Das), the 23 DTC's had taken about 1.5 billion ringgit in deposits from depositors and arrangements have been made with banks and financial institutions to rescue these cooperatives. He said in the meantime someone professional and trustworthy was needed to take possession of the assets and administer the DTC's on the appointment of recipients which ensure that the rescue plan was implemented. Encik (Das) also gave assurance on behalf of his clients that deposits would be given the right to be represented in the scheme to bail out [word indistinct] when counsel representing of the cooperatives brought up this question. He said one of the principles in the scheme was to try to get the money back and this involved a lot of exercise.

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CSO: 4200/265

BRIEFS

SABAH STATE GOVERNOR SWORN IN--Tan Sri Mohamed Syed Keruak was today sworn in as the new governor of the state of Sabah in the state capital, Kota Kinabalu. He took the oath before High Court Judge Datuk Charles Ho. The ceremony was witnessed by the state secretary, Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Igor, and High Court Assistant Registrar Raymond Wong. Tan Sri Mohamed's appointment is for 4 years. Earlier, Chief Minister Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan read the letter of appointment from the king. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 1 Jan 87] /9599

RELIGIOUS BRIBE OFFER INVESTIGATED--The government is investigating allegations that a foreign religious organization has offered a bribe of 10 million ringgit to the Islamic Center to enable the organization to hold an international-level conference in the country. The deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Department, Datuk Dr Yusof Noor, said the check for the amount, believed to have been posted from Melaka, was received 3 weeks ago. It was issued by a local bank. He said this when opening a dakwah [missionary] course organized by the Ledang UMNO [United Malays National Organization] branch in Tampak, Johor. Datuk Dr Yusof said the check was attached with a note in which was stated a condition that the Islamic religious division of Prime Minister's Department allow the organization to hold an international-level conference in this country. He, however, did not name the organization nor the proposed conference. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 1 Jan 87] /9599

CONTAMINATED MILK FROM UK REJECTED--Another consignment of milk powder has been rejected by the Ministry of Health as it contains radioactive substances higher than the level allowed by the country. The director of health services of the Ministry of Health, Datuk Dr Abdullah Abdul Rahman, said in a statement today, the consignment of full milk powder in 600 bags weighing a total of 15,000 kilograms from the United Kingdom arrived at Port Kelang on the 27th of December last year. It has been detained at Port Kelang for examination. According to him, the importer has already been directed to send it back immediately to the country of origin. This is because the result of analysis carried out by the nuclear energy unit to the Prime Minister's Department has shown that it contains a higher level of radioactive caesium 137 and caesium 134. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 8 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 4200/265

PHILIPPINES

INTERNATIONAL RESERVES STAND AT \$2.4 BILLION

HK061437 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 6 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by staff member Ray Enano]

[Text] The Philippines managed to post an international reserve level of \$2.4 billion at the close of 1986 following the release of \$150 million in commodity loans from the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) of Japan last 29 December, a CB [Central Bank] official said yesterday.

The release of the Japanese loan, according to the official, added up to the previous level of \$2.25 billion which had included \$350 million in new money facility from foreign creditor-banks and \$270 million representing both the standby credit and the compensatory financing facilities from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The reserve level at yearend is 41 percent up from the third quarter level of \$1.7 billion and 126 percent more than the end-1985 level of \$1.06 billion.

The International Monetary Fund had set a \$2.4 billion floor for the international reserves for 1986 as one of the performance criteria for the country's standby facility.

The CB official also said that the reserves of \$2.4 billion are equivalent to more than 3 and 1/2 months' worth of imports and services which the country would have to finance.

The official said CB is still collating the data on the country's balance of payments (BOP) for 1986. But he said that preliminary estimates put the country's interest payments at roughly \$2.0 billion and principal loan repayments at close to \$1.0 billion.

For 1987, the official said the CB is projecting a further reserve build-up of \$300 million to bring the gross reserves for the year to \$2.7 billion.

The official did not say what would bring about a further increase in the country's international reserves but said CB would continue to purchase from the market as long as there are sellers.

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CSO: 4200/274

PHILIPPINES

SPOKESMAN REITERATES STAND ON NUCLEAR PLANT

HK061435 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 6 Jan 87 p 6

[Text] The government has not reconsidered its position to scrap the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant (BNPP), Special Presidential Counsel Rene Saguisag said yesterday.

In a statement, Saguisag, who is also chairman of the BNPP Committee, said that not one Cabinet member has moved to reconsider the unanimous decision it had adopted months ago to scrap the plants, contrary to reports in other newspapers.

Saguisag said that the Cabinet decision had been made in view of the huge costs of insurance, evacuation facilities, disposal of nuclear wastes and decommissioning of the plant, that has so far taken \$2.1 billion to build. Furthermore, he said the decision also sustained "a solemn campaign commitment" made by President Aquino in the February 1986 elections.

The BNPP committee, he reported, is now in the midst of "delicate negotiations" on how to solve the nuclear plant controversy. Last 16-20 December, Saguisag visited the United States to address certain issues on the settlement of the issue, including the loan liabilities the government still has to pay.

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CSO: 4200/274

EDITORIAL URGES AQUINO HEED PERSISTENT RUMORS OF CORRUPTION

HK061439 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 6 Jan 87 p 9

[Editorial: "Moral Authority of Government"]

[Text] The recent Cabinet shake-up was partly in response to demands that President Aquino clean up her official family of members who had been in the center of reports of impropriety in office. These demands had been expressed by a wide variety of sources, the most outspoken of which were the then minister of national defense, Juan Ponce Enrile, and the leadership of the Armed Forces.

The removal of two ministers had something to do with these demands. It was generally perceived that the president had sent out a signal that her government had no tolerance for corruption and was determined to maintain a probity that would set it apart from the Marcos regime which made greed a way of life.

However, reports persist that certain people or groups closely associated with the palace are using their privileged position to gain economic advantages that, at least, are harmful to free competition. At this stage it is difficult to substantiate these rumors but they are too persistent and widespread to be ignored.

While there is no doubt about the personal integrity of the president, we all know that previous administrations, not only that of deposed President Marcos, had lost their moral authority and credibility because of persistence of rumors about rampant corruption. In the experience of this country, evidence of corruption is hard to come by; in the case of the Marcos regime, it took nearly 14 years for evidence to surface and only during his declining years.

The point that this government may consider for its own good is that the reports persist and if nothing is done to dispel them, they could be believed. It does not matter whether evidence is produced. What is harmful is that rumors could be believed.

The government has access to intelligence reports and has authority to order investigative agencies to collect evidence. It also has the moral authority

to warn those close to the government to stop any such malpractices, lest they bring it down to ignominy.

We do not believe that the present leadership has the rapacity of the previous regime, but it has to demonstrate more emphatically its determination to go to the bottom of (?the rumors.)

Previous governments reacted to media reports about corruption with the angry rejoinder--"prove it." We hope this government does not fall into this reaction.

Those with evidence should come forward, but that is probably asking too much. It is better that the initiative comes from the government itself. It has ways of knowing what is happening and giving warning, through unofficial channels, that it does not tolerate any form of abuse of privilege and corrupt practices.

The government must not delude itself into believing that passivity can stop rumors or that it can escape them unscathed. It is, at the moment, in a position to give a lie to these rumors because the people are still inclined to give the government the benefit of the doubt.

Much is expected of the government in moral rectitude and it would be tragic if it lost moral authority because it passed up the chance to show that it is different from its predecessor.

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CSO: 4200/274

PHILIPPINES

EDITORIAL ON CHALLENGES FOR NEW LABOR MINISTER

HK071115 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 7 Jan 87 p 9

[Editorial: "Drilon's Appointment Challenges Business"]

[Text] The appointment of Franklin Drilon as minister of labor and employment has raised a sour note in the otherwise well received Cabinet revamp.

There are understandable reasons why the appointment has provoked controversy. The first is that because of his background as a management lawyer, a significant segment of the trade union movement--notably the Leftist Kilusang Mayo Uno [KMU--1 May Movement)--perceives him as a surrogate for management. The appointment is seen by that sector as a capitulation by the Aquino government to pressure from business.

The other reason is that labor, as a social group, has not gained any step towards being represented in the Cabinet. As the Cabinet stands today, there is no direct representation at all from two very significant social groups--the industrial workers and the peasantry.

Their interests continue to be represented by middle class bureaucrats whose function is to mediate between competing interests being aggregated in the ministries.

Mr Drilon has appealed that he not be judged too early and rashly. He has pleaded that his association with management should not be held against him, saying that "I was just doing my job as a lawyer for management," some of whose companies, it may be well to point out, were those of multi-national institutions.

It is fair to give him a chance to demonstrate that he is not anti-labor, as some sectors of the union movement picture him. But it is also fair to make everyone aware--including the government and Mr Drilon himself--that being a mediator in union-management disputes requires a drastic change in outlook.

Mr Drilon has been used to seeing and speaking for the point of view of business. A less than even-handed approach to settling labor-capital disputes can easily touch off a wider alienation from the government by the union movement. Shifting perspective to the center is a tall order for Mr Drilon.

Under the controversial Augusto Sanchez, the ministry was criticized for having been too pro-labor and Mr Sanchez was accused of being a Leftist. The appointment of a man from the Right was in response to this criticism and pressure from the business community which found Mr Sanchez' pronouncements and some of his decisions too intimidating and disruptive to industrial tranquility.

Mr Sanchez' presence in the ministry was used by business as an argument that it inhibited the flow of investments and damaged business confidence in the government. There are other important reasons why investment flow is not as dynamic as the government would desire. But now that the government has delivered the head of Mr Sanchez to business and has replaced him with one who understands its point of view, business should stop making excuses about not being able to take more risks in helping economic recovery.

Because of his experience as deputy labor minister, Mr Drilon, we are sure, is aware that union members and even the unorganized workers also have legitimate rights to social justice and aspirations for a better life. These must not be sacrificed for the sake of buying business support.

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PHILIPPINES

CHRONICLE COLUMNIST COMMENDS CONSTITUTION

HK061537 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 6 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[*"Analysis"* column by Editor-in-Chief Amando Doronila: "Constitution Can't Be Judged by its Parts"]

[Text] Many false issues have emerged from the current debate over the ratification of the draft constitution--some of which are very ridiculous, indeed.

The most ridiculous argument, of course, comes from the dismissed defense minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, who has urged rejection on the grounds that the government sponsoring it "is a dictatorship." This allegation does not deserve any lengthy reply; it simply flies in the face of the facts and should have been used against the Marcos regime whose dictatorial tendencies Mr Enrile has strong affinity with.

The absurdity of the arguments being used against ratification stems from the fact that the opponents of the draft charter--both from the Right and the Left--have picked out what they perceive as flawed sections of the document and have urged rejection on the basis of the attending parts. In other words, the point is being made that the part is bigger than the whole.

Thus, from the Right, one argument asserts that the Charter must be rejected because it gives President Aquino a free lift for another 5 years in office. Another example, this time, coming from some in the Left, is that we should vote "no" because the charter is not nationalistic and redistributive enough.

A careful examination of their arguments will show that there is a strong element of opportunism on the part of conservative opponents of the Charter and an obtuse short-sightedness on segments of the Left advocating "no." I shall come to this later.

The fundamental issue that is terribly being missed is that, for all its imperfections, the Charter must be approved--or rejected--in its entirety, warts and moles included. We cannot pick out the warts and use these malformations to reject, to use an idiom, Oliver Cromwell. (I hope I am not taken too literally, because we are not really voting for or against a Cromwell type.)

What is being put to the Filipino people is the issue whether the draft constitution, with its imperfections, is an instrument that can promote political and social change in a nation that is in a state of flux. I want to argue that because of the democratic and pluralist philosophy behind the Charter, political and social change can evolve.

To make the point more cogently, it was extremely impossible to promote political and social change under, for instance, the 1973 Constitution (the document that mesmerizes Mr Enrile and some of the KBL). For despite its libertarian rhetorical veneer, the 1973 Marcos Charter was so rigged up with arbitrary powers for the state that no change, except the entrenching of the dictatorship, could ever take place.

Thus, it required a popular uprising at EDSA [Epifanio De los Santos Avenue] to dislodge the Marcos regime bunkered within its repressive structures. Mr Enrile and the KBL dug in behind this bunker, until, by force of circumstances in which the dictator turned on him, he broke away from the regime.

The opportunism of the conservative opposition is betrayed by the fact that while its spokesmen are rousing the rabble to reject the charter based on nit-picking of some parts of the document, they also say that they are going to take part in the elections envisaged by the charter, if it is the will of the people to approve it.

This hardly disguises the hypocrisy that the opposition wants it both ways, or the best of both worlds.

The truth is that Mr Enrile, for example, is considering standing for the House of Representatives with eyes cast towards the speakership. This option is based on the calculation by his aides that he might face the dim prospects of winning in the Senate elections if Mrs Aquino won a massive mandate in the constitutional plebiscite. The reality is now quite obvious that following his dismissal from a strategic ministry, Mr Enrile is leading the conservative opposition with a vastly reduced power base and capacity for mischief.

The government is in part responsible for muddling the issues and in trivializing some. In presenting the ratification as a vote of confidence for Mrs Aquino, it has ignored the basic issue--that the democratic philosophy of the Charter permits it to be an engine of social change.

The government has failed to emphasize that the ratification is just a step--not the end--towards the rejuvenation of democracy through which demands for social equity could be accommodated in an environment of peaceful competition.

This accommodation is possible in the face of the powerful role assigned by the Charter to the legislature. The Charter would let the legislature implement and define such key policy questions as land reform and other social issues.

Given that political formation ranging from the Right to the Center and the Left are emerging to contest seats, the legislature promises to be the arena for the settlement of competing claims from plural sectors of society.

The short-sightedness of some of the Left who are opposing ratification derives from the fact that local and legislative elections offer them an opportunity to substantiate their claim that they indeed have a constituency based on the teeming under-privileged members of society. Election of their candidates to local and legislative offices can confirm that this constituency exists. Without an election, claims of electoral base will remain sheer claims.

If the Left succeeds in establishing the existence of a constituency based on free elections, it will have a legitimacy to seek power sharing through a coalition and demolish arguments from the Right that the Left must be excluded from the policy decision process.

And if the Left, together with the ultra-Right, succeeds in persuading the people to reject the Charter, the implication would be that it is foreclosing the option of taking part in the legislative process as a route to political power.

The other option is the continuation of the armed struggle. The question before the Left is: What route offers the most favorable chances of success? In its present state of disarray and tentativeness, it is doubtful if the Left is prepared to go on an all-out armed struggle which will ensure success in the immediate future.

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CSO: 4200/274

PAPER REVIEWS CHALLENGES IN 1987

HK021511 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 1 Jan 87 pp 1, 4

[Article by staff member Malou Mangahas]

[Text] President Aquino will confront "more formidable" challenges to her government this new year. According to her palace ministers, the challenges will come from the following sources: the communist insurgency, in the event the ceasefire accord breaks down; a Congress that will "dilute her legislative powers"; and a further deterioration in the economy.

Interviewed by the CHRONICLE, the ministers noted, however, that Mrs Aquino remains quite popular among Filipinos because she has served as a "model of rectitude, integrity and honesty." Furthermore, they said that unlike in 1986 when government responded to problems often on an "ad-hoc basis," there was now a mechanism for setting policy and integrating programs--the Cabinet Assistance Secretariat.

Should the truce fail, the insurgency may become a serious challenge to the president, a minister said, because government may not be able to mount and finance an effective counter-insurgency campaign.

The minister said a fullblown war against insurgents would deplete government resources and have "a debilitating impact" on the economy. Besides, he said, the reorientation program for the Armed Forces has not been fully implemented and the military may not yet be counted upon to function as "an effective and reliable fighting force."

The president is "very conscious" that once the new Congress is organized in June, "you'll have a competing legislature that will fight to dilute her powers, all within the framework of the Constitution."

Mrs Aquino, he said, realizes that from now until the Congress convenes, "she will have to assert herself again to assume a stronger presidency." By then, he said he hopes she would have acquired the "necessary political skills" even as he observed that by yearend, Mrs Aquino has become "a stronger person and may no longer need the services of advisers in a few more months."

Mrs Aquino's mind, the minister read, is "one-track" on goals of jobs for the people and peace for the nation." He said the government intends to "reverse the economic record" of the past regime and in the next 5 years, bring the Philippines up the ladder of Asian economies.

For instance, the minister cited, projections for 1991 place the debt-service ratio to the Gross National Product at 1 percent, from the 4 percent level in 1987.

"It occurred to her," he said, "that to have economic recovery, you must have growth. And you cannot have growth if you will rely on domestic resources." This was his explanation for the government's continued borrowings in spite of the majority opinion in Cabinet against getting more loans.

The minister said the government will continue to get loans, but was negotiating for a payment schedule that will start after 5 years.

"Sa Kanya, [with her] she'll keep on borrowing but at the end of her term it (debt service) will taper off. That will be her valedictory. At the end of her term, and magbabayad yung successor niya [it will be her successor who pays]," the minister explained.

But should the economy fail to take off and defy projections of growth, "well, if the economy doesn't grow, wala na [that's it]. It's shut through. Tapos na [it's over]," he remarked.

The president's goals of jobs and peace are maintained, another minister said, by the government's economic recovery program. "Economic recovery per se is not the end-goal. The end-goal is for recovery to benefit and uplift the lot of the working man."

The president is quite aware that the people's foremost problem is jobs, with unemployment and underemployment affecting nearly 40 percent of the labor force. Wherever she goes, Mrs Aquino hears from the people appeals for more jobs, "not houses, not anything, but jobs," he said.

If there is anything that makes Mrs Aquino's misty-eyed, it is, another minister said, "the deep stirrings inside her to help the poor, and that she has not done enough for them."

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CSO: 4200/274

PHILIPPINES

NORTHERN LUZON MILITARY QUESTIONED ON 'BLOCKADE'

HK060547 Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English
0330 GMT 6 Jan 87

[Text] The government panel in the peace talks with the NDF [National Democratic Front] made a request to the military. The AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] is being asked to explain NDF charges that it blocked food and medical supplies being made in several areas of Northern Luzon. The government peace negotiator Teofisto Guingona is concerned that the blockade might count as a government violation of the cease-fire. He said the complaints should be substantiated before the National Cease-fire Committee could rule on them. The report on the alleged food blockade in Northern Luzon came from NDF representative Jefferson Tugawin. He claimed the military in the region continues combat operations, food blockades, and stockpiling of arms. The PC [Philippine Constabulary] provincial commanders in Isabela and Cagayan have also gone on radio to voice objections to the cease-fire plan. AFP Region 2 Commander Felix Brawner in a statement said that the NDF claims were just a cover-up of NPA violations of the cease-fire.

But Brawner said the PC will continue combat patrols in all areas of Northern Luzon to exercise its constitutional duties. He also opposed the creation of a regional cease-fire committee for Regions 1 and 2.

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CSO: 4200/274

PHILIPPINES

SIN SAYS CHURCH MAY BACK FORCE AGAINST REBELS

HK081228 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 8 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by staff member Marites Sison]

[Text] Manila Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin hinted yesterday that the Catholic Church would condone the government's possible use of force against communist rebels if peace talks failed, and rebels refused to surrender.

"If the ceasefire fails, and if the hardcore among the communists will not surrender, I think I will agree with President Aquino's statement that she will unleash the sword of war against them," Sin told a group of women from Martha's Vineyard at the Intercontinental Hotel.

Sin's statement is considered the strongest he has made so far. The 58-year-old prelate, the most influential church leader in the country, is also one of President Aquino's closest advisers.

Sin also called on the people to fight the "communist propaganda" by using "good ideas and information as weapons." He said moderates and middle forces should come together and fight the ideas of the "extreme Right and Left forces" in the country. The moderates, he added, are the ones who are "on the right track."

"From what I have heard, about 17,000 rebels have already surrendered, and only 5,000 hardcore communists have remained in the hills," he said.

He renewed his attack against communism by saying that "it is impossible to have a marriage between Christianity and communism because our people will never (accept it) because it is like a leprosy."

He added that he agreed with Mother Teresa who said that priests and nuns should not get involved in the armed struggle. "Priests and nuns are men of peace and encouraging violence is not their role," he said.

Sin attacked the oppositionists to the draft Constitution, saying they are "inconsistent."

Obviously referring to the opposition led by the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Sin said, "They say the Charter perpetuates Mrs Aquino's dictatorial powers, how can that be? The Charter is anti-dictator."

He also said Mrs Aquino's 6-year term as stipulated in the new Charter was "given to her by the people, and no one can dispute the fact that the people voted for her."

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PHILIPPINES

DEPUTY AFP CHIEF'S HELICOPTER SHOT AT IN BASILAN

HK061059 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 6 Jan 87 pp 1, 6

[Excerpt] A top military official, on a mission to investigate an ambush blamed on the communist rebels in Mindanao last Saturday, narrowly escaped death yesterday when his helicopter was shot at by what were described as heavily-armed New People's Army guerillas.

Armed Forces Vice Chief of Staff Maj Gen Salvador Mison was on a Huey helicopter monitoring government troopers on a pursuit operation at Barangay Banas, Lantawan, Basilan, when anti-aircraft weapons were fired at his helicopter, reports reaching Camp Aguinaldo yesterday said.

The troops, led by Capt Marjun Hassan of the Basilan PC [Philippine Constabulary] Command, were dispatched to track down the communist rebels reportedly responsible for the Basilan ambush where a soldier and a civilian were killed. The two victims were on board a passenger jeepney when attacked by the rebels, the report said.

The troops also said that early yesterday morning the government troopers engaged the communist rebels in a running gunbattle at Barangay Banas.

The report also said the rebels who fired at Mison's chopper could be part of the group that staged the Basilan ambush where (?CIC. Johnny Arabain and "Egang Sandong") were both killed.

The incident will be reported to the National Ceasefire Committee for investigation and disposition, the report said.

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PHILIPPINES

TRUCE VIOLATIONS REPORTED, SUMMARIZED

Latest Incidents

HK121229 Hong Kong AFP in English 1151 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Manila, 12 Jan (AFP)--Suspected communist guerrillas have killed two people and wounded four in an attack on a remote village in the southern Philippines, and kidnapped a former mayor in a town east of Manila, reports said Monday.

Both incidents could be violations of a current ceasefire between the government and rebel forces, official reports said.

Some 40 suspected communist guerrillas armed with guns and knives attacked a village near Malapatan Town in South Cotabato Province, some 1,200 kilometers (720 miles) south of Manila late Sunday, the official PHILIPPINE NEWS AGENCY (PNA) said.

They ordered the villagers to lie flat on the ground then attacked them, killing two farmers and wounding four men, PNA said. Military spokesmen here could not be immediately reached for comment on the report.

Suspected communist New People's Army (NPA) guerrillas Saturday kidnapped Eufemio Uy, a former mayor of Basiat Town east of Manila, a paramilitary constabulary spokesman said Monday.

Members of the constabulary were attacked Friday while patrolling a slum of Davao City, a rebel-infested area some 929 kilometers (555 miles) south of here.

The rebel National Democratic Front (NDF), which represents the NPA and other groups, on Monday accused the military of stepping up military patrols throughout the country in violation of the ceasefire agreement.

A joint committee monitoring the nationwide truce said after a meeting Monday that it had received 62 reports of possible ceasefire violations, 46 of which were reported by the military.

NPA Allegations

HK121511 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 12 Jan 87 p 6

[Text] San Pablo City--Military movements and surveillance are reportedly intensifying in Quezon Province as the ceasefire between the National Democratic Front (NDF) and the Aquino government entered into the second half of the 60-day period.

In Sariaya, Quezon, some 130 km south of Manila, a large movement of troops belonging to the Banahaw Intelligence Special Action Group was monitored by New People's Army (NPA) units in the field last 9 January.

Residents reported the alleged presence of 60 soldiers in Bo. Mamala and 30 soldiers in Bo. Sampaloc, both of this town, led by a certain Capt Tabriga. The soldiers were spotted as early as 3 am that day.

Barrio residents are wondering that if the troop deployment in the two barrios was intended for either civic action work or patrol operation it was an unnecessary large formation. Under the ceasefire agreement, military patrol operations are allowed only for the pursuit of criminal elements or generally for peace and order.

On 7 January, 10 Constabulary soldiers and five policemen in a six-by-six truck and owner-type jeep were seen patrolling the Kamaysa-tayabas road also in this province.

A military plane on 6 January and a helicopter on 5 January were seen circling around Real, Quezon.

NDF representative to the Regional Ceasefire Committee (RCC), Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal, related these incidents in an interview with PNF [Philippine News and Features].

Other alleged violations include: Eight incidents of indiscriminate firing by PC [Philippine Constabulary] soldiers and Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) in the towns of Rosario, Lobo, San Juan and Balayan, all of Batangas Province, occurred from 12 December to 1 January.

Nancy Rosales was arrested on 10 December in Sta Cruz, Laguna by elements of the 233rd PC company. She was released hours later after letters and documents were confiscated from her.

Teargas cannisters were thrown at participants of a peace rally as they passed near a detachment in Binan, Pagsanjan, Laguna on their way home last 10 December.

Patricia Villegas, wife of a suspected NPA commander, was detained for several hours by the 22nd Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army in Bibito, Lopez, Quezon last 11 December.

The incidents are expected to be taken up when the RCC meets for the first time on 12 January.

PHILIPPINES

TASS NINTH PKP CONGRESS REPORT CITES 'SEPARATE CONTINGENTS'

LD081622 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] Manila, 8 Jan (TASS)--The Ninth Congress of the Philippine Communist Party has been held in Cabiao City, Nueva-Ecija Province. It was the first legal forum of the Philippine Communists since 1946, when the party was forced to carry over its activities into the difficult conditions of underground work. The report by the party leadership to the congress contains an analysis of the political situation in the country after the Corazon Aquino administration came to power. The task was put forward to create a broad anti-imperialist front of the democratic forces of the Philippines.

Despite the difference in the tactics of separate contingents of the revolutionary movement in that country, the congress papers say, special significance attaches in the present-day situation to the pooling of the efforts by the democratic parties and organizations, considering the scope of the anti-democratic offensive launched by the reactionary pro-imperialist forces in the country. The resolution adopted by the delegates to the congress expresses solidarity with the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the developing countries against neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

The delegates to the forum of the Philippine Communists expressed unanimous support for the Soviet foreign policy initiatives directed at eliminating nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

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PHILIPPINES

WEEKLY REPORTS ON SAMAL WELCOME FOR ARMED NPA

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 24 Dec 86 pp 6, 7

[Article by Benjamin Pimentel, Jr]

[Text]

"[Expletive], marines!" MIDWEEK photographer Pat Roque thought as two columns of armed men in fatigue uniform came rushing on both sides of the road just when National Democratic Front (NDF) negotiator Satur Ocampo was getting out of the car. He felt his heartbeat stop as he awaited the first exchange of gunfire between the men in fatigues and the security escorts of the NDF delegation. Some of the armed men suddenly approached Ocampo and shook hands with the revolutionary leader. It was then that Pat realized he had nothing to be afraid of: the armed men were NPA guerrillas.

They don't usually wear fatigue uniforms. But that was a special day and the guerrillas thought they should look their best.

On December 11, the second day of the ceasefire, a company of NPA guerrillas came down from the mountains to welcome the NDF delegation during the ceasefire celebration in Samal, Bataan. On the same day, this small semi-urban town in the northern part of the province with a population of about 6,000, came out openly as a "liberated area" of the revolutionary movement.

There were red and blue ribbons tied on trees, fences and telephone poles all over town. Streamers welcoming Satur Ocampo, Tony Zumel and Bobbie Malay were hung in different parts of the municipality.

On the narrow street where an improvised stage had been constructed for the rally, the atmosphere was that of a fiesta as the people came out of their homes to join in the celebration. They threw confetti to welcome not only the NDF personalities but also the NPA guerrillas, many of whom were their own sons, fathers or friends.

Girls in their school uniform giggled and smiled shyly at the guerrillas, while some kids stuffed packs of cigarettes into the rebels' backpacks.

At sari-sari stores, the guerrillas bought soft drinks, suman and cigarettes.

"Hindi ho ba kayo natatakot na may mga NPA dito?" [Aren't you scared of the fact that there are NPA's here?"] I asked an old lady who owned a store.

"Aba, hindi. Bakit naman ako matatakot sa kanila e mga kaibigan namin ang mga iyan,"

["Of course not. Why should I be afraid of them? Oh, they are our friends,"] she answered.

"Baka naman ho sinasabi lang
ninyo iyan dahil nasa harap ninyo ang
mga ito?" [Maybe you're just
saying that because they're
here right in front of you?"]
I said, patting the shoulder
of a guerrilla who was beside me
drinking Pop Cola.

"Aba, hindi," [Of course
not,"] the old lady stressed.
"Kung mga militar siguro sila, mata-
takot ako. Pero mga sundalo naman
namin ang mga iyan e." ["If they
were the military men, I
would be scared, for sure.
But, you see, they are our
very own soldiers."]

During the program, Ocampo said,
"They say that when the NPA enters
the barrios and towns, the people are
terrorized and they run to the Armed
Forces of the Philippines. But we see
here today that the NPA is not feared,
but is welcomed by the people. This
is something that the Aquino govern-
ment cannot understand."

Pat tried to capture the warm
support of the people of Samal for the
NPA in these photographs. But,
believe me, you had to be there to
really feel it — the jubilation of the
people brought about by the ceasefire
spirit of peace and good will this
Christmas season. M

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PHILIPPINES

LA UNION CONSTABULARY CHIEF SAYS NPA FAILS TO GAIN HEADWAY

HK081213 Manila THE PHILLIPINES TRIBUNE in English 8 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] Camp Diego Silang, La Union--The New People's Army was not able to gain headway in La Union Province despite rebel infestation of barangays in the borders of Ilocos Sur, Benguet and Pangasinan.

Lt Col Florencio Fianza, PC [Philippine Constabulary] provincial commander, in his report to Ilocos Regional Unified Command Chief Jesus de la Cruz, said subversion is not a serious problem in the area because there is good rapport between the civilians and the military.

However, the command still continues with its task of manning the borders to discourage future plans and movements of communist terrorists.

Fianza said, up to this time the insurgents have not established mass base in the area.

As to the peace and order situation, Fianza said that crimes committed in the province decreased in 1986, compared to that of 1985.

"Crime volume in 1986 totalled 812 while crime rate is placed at .5 percent of the 100,000 population. Non-index crimes however, increased abruptly because of stepped-up operations against illegal gambling," Fianza reported.

Other significant accomplishments, he said, includes:

-- The arrest of 564 persons and confiscation of P52,816 gambling bets during 194 raids conducted against suspected illegal gambling dens.

-- Confiscation of 31 kilos of dried marijuana leaves, 31 sticks of marijuana and 212 seedlings, including the arrest of 41 suspected pushers in its anti-drug campaign.

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CSO: 4200/274

PHILIPPINES

MILF FLAREUP, MANILA MNLF REACTION SUMMARIZED

Government Envoys to MILF

OW160957 Tokyo KYODO in English 0929 GMT 16 Jan 87

[Text] Manila, 16 Jan (KYODO)--Defense Minister Rafael Ileto said Friday the government had sent emissaries to leaders of a breakaway Moslem rebel group to ask them to join peace talks in a bid to stop further fighting in the southern Philippines.

Armed Forces Chief Gen Fidel Ramos had earlier told reporters that 30 persons have been killed and 57 wounded since Tuesday when guerrillas of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) began attacks against selected targets in four provinces in Mindanao Island.

The MILF, led by Salamat Hasim, is not involved in peace talks which the government of President Corazon Aquino began late last year with the main Moslem rebel group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

"In order to defuse the situation, we have sent emissaries or tried to make contact with Salamat to reiterate the government's acceptance of their feelers that they would like to talk...we hope that this would stop any clashes between any faction and the government forces," Ileto said.

"The MILF felt that they had been overlooked...and this was a means for them to attract the attention of the government...the government is open as far as negotiating with all factions in Mindanao," he explained.

The MILF, which claims to have 20,000 fighters, was organized by Salamat after he opposed the secessionist position of the MNLF headed by Nur Misuari. Ileto said Salamat, whom he said is based in Pakistan, leads about 3,000 armed men.

In separate but coordinated attacks, MILF guerrillas attacked government buildings, blew up bridges and power lines, lobbed grenades in public places and set up barricades on a highway near Cotabato City.

Ileto said the situation is under control and that the military was "capable of defusing the situation without much bloodshed."

Aquino is scheduled to fly to Cotabato City on Sunday to campaign for the ratification of a proposed constitution which grants autonomy to Moslem areas of Mindanao. It will be put to a vote on 2 February.

Ramos said Aquino "will be taking some risks" if she decides to go on with her trip but that "the military can take appropriate action to make her meeting in Cotabato secure."

The Moslem rebel attacks, which Ramos had described as an uprising, were the first significant outbreak of fighting since Aquino took steps to end sectarian violence in the region.

Clash Between MNLF, MILF

HK141512 Hong Kong AFP in English 1500 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Manila, 14 Jan (AFP)—Fighting between two rival Moslem rebel groups broke out Wednesday following a wave of violence on the southern island of Mindanao believed perpetrated by one of the factions, the official PHILIPPINE NEWS AGENCY (PNA) said here.

The clash flared at dawn and was still going on by late evening at a village near Datu Piang Town in Maguindanao Province, PNA said, citing reports from one of the armed groups.

There were no immediate reports of casualties or the number of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) members engaged in the fighting, PNA said.

Muslimin Sema, an MNLF leader in the region, said the clash was triggered by Tuesday night's attacks on four provinces in Central Mindanao including Maguindanao, in which a man died and at least 16 people were wounded.

The MILF, which issued a call to arms against the government of President Corazon Aquino Wednesday, is believed by the military to be behind the attacks, in which two bridges were blown up, a town hall and two commercial buildings burned and grenades attacks staged on towns.

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PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

KALINGA-APAYAO TOWN RAIDED 30 DEC--About 50 heavily armed men believed to be NPA rebels raided the town of Conner in Kalinga-Apayao last 30 December. The raiders burned the municipal building. Property damage was placed at P3 million. The raid occurred at 10 pm. Regional Commander Brigadier General Manuel Avila refused to blame the communist rebels for the raid. He said an investigation is being conducted to determine who the perpetrators really are. Gen Avila said he will file a complaint with the National Cease-fire Committee if evidence proves that the NPA carried out the attack. Referring to NPA truce violations in the Cagayan Valley, Gen Avila said the NPA truce violations have victimized many civilians. He observed that the NDF [National Democratic Front] appears to have no control over the NPA in the Cagayan Valley. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 4 Jan 87] /9599

NEGROS CEASE-FIRE EXTENSION--In Bacolod City, the top commander of the New People's Army in Western Visayas Saturday called for the extension of the current cease-fire agreement beyond the 60-day period to give peace a chance. Nemesio (Demacule), alias Kumander (Eku), head of the entire NPA forces in Region 6, made the proposal during a secret meeting with Deputy Defense Minister Wilson Gamboa at a bacolod restaurant. He said the NPA would not like the cease-fire to collapse and that the rebel movement in Western Visayas is sincere in its wish for the truce to succeed. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 4 Jan 87] /9599

AUSTRIA DEBT PARDON--The government's efforts to contest the legitimacy of certain foreign loans granted to the country under questionable circumstances during the Marcos regime has started to pay off as the government obtained an agreement in principle late last month for the condonation of part of its foreign debt for the Semirara Coal Corp., a government-owned firm. Industry Minister Jose Concepcion and Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin sent a telex message last 24 December to Doctor Weissbacher, head of the restructuring department of the Austrian Federal Ministry of Finance to inform him of the agreement for the condonation of some of the P1 billion debt and the grant of an additional P92 million financial assistance to Semirara by the state-owned Voest Alpine Company. [Text] [Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0330 GMT 5 Jan 87] /9599

NDF STUDIES LAND REFORM PROPOSALS--At the National Press Club yesterday, the NDF [National Democratic Front] said it is studying land reform proposals made by the KMU [Kilusang Mayo Uno--1 May Movement] and urban poor organizations. The NDF said the proposals could be included in the agenda for the peace talks. The government earlier told the NDF that it wants the second stage of the peace talks to be limited to land reform and industrialization. [Text] [Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0330 GMT 6 Jan 87] /9599

NCC, NDF ON TRUCE ISSUES--The head of the National Cease-fire Committee [NCC] said more time is needed to set up local cease-fire committees and settle the issue of NPA taxation and the carrying of firearms. Bishop Antonio Fortich spoke at the Kapihan sa Manila Hotel [Manila Hotel Coffeeshop]. Regarding objections to NPA taxations, NDF representative Francisco Pascual said the cease-fire agreement provided the status quo on this which means NPA taxation continues. Regarding the military insistence that the NPA should lay down their arms during the cease-fire, Pascual sees this as oppressive and unjust for the Filipino people. He said that, being a revolutionary organization, it is only justifiable to use armed struggle in order to attain their political aims. [Text] [Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0330 GMT 6 Jan 87] /9599

NEW WORLD BANK LOAN--The Philippines will ask the World Bank for a new loan, aid, and grant which will cost 2 billion dollars. The Finance Ministry said that if the loan is granted, the money will be for this years current economic program. The petition will be presented to the Consultative Group meeting which will be held in Paris during the last days of the month. Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin and Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez will most likely represent the Philippines in the meeting. [Text] [Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 7 Jan 87] /9599

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THAILAND

RTAF OPERATIONS CHIEF VIEWS CAPABILITIES, U.S. BASES

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 1-7 Dec 86 pp 30-34

[Interview with Air Vice Marshal Samat Sotsathit, the RTAF operations chief; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] Even though there is not much news about the air force, the responsibilities of the air force are increasing daily. In particular, the air force is responsible for defending the country's air space and supporting the other branches of service. Thus, the "readiness" of the air force is always of great interest. KHAO PHISET had a chance to talk with Air Vice Marshal Samat Sotsathit, the RTAF operations chief, who has very important responsibilities. At the very least, this will acquaint readers with and give them a better understanding of the air force.

[Question] In the next several years, what responsibilities will be emphasized?

[Answer] Our air force is small, but we have important responsibilities. We don't fight like the army or navy. The air force must conduct operations against all branches of the service. Besides that, we have to defend the country's air space. We have great responsibilities. We must engage in a variety of activities. The government wants us participate in civic action projects. We have to transport men and equipment, food, and ordnance. For example, if there is a flood somewhere, we have to help the government in every way possible. But this is the responsibility of all sectors.

[Question] During the past 2-3 years, your main burden in defending the country's sovereignty has been along the eastern front, isn't that right?

[Answer] During the past 2-3 years, as is known.... I don't want to call them an enemy. But they have done things along that border that have affected the security of the country. We have seen this. We have never harassed anyone. Occasionally, during clashes on their side of the border, they have crossed into Thailand, either intentionally or unintentionally. There is no fence along the border and so they cross over into our country. When they cross

over, we sometimes support our ground troops in the drive to expel them. We do this periodically. We must expel the enemy.

[Question] The amount of internal security work, such as the struggle against the communist terrorists, has declined, isn't that right?

[Answer] Yes, the amount of internal security work has declined because of the government's policies. Policy 66/23 has achieved good results. As a result, the communist terrorists have become participants in the development of Thailand. Many of them have surrendered. We have forged a better understanding with those who fled into the jungle. Many of those who fled into the jungle have come out and talked with us. Because of this, there is less thought about waging an armed struggle. This is a great achievement by the government. I am very happy about this. During the period of fighting, we frequently lost pilots and aircraft. I once fought and was hit several times. But recently, there has been very little fighting. Almost none.

[Question] As for border operations, can you tell us how many tons of bombs were dropped during this past year and how much money was spent on these operations?

[Answer] Let's not talk about the operations along the border. The figures are not precise. This is not a pleasant topic. The enemy knows. We have carried out enough ground support operations to expel the enemy.

[Question] As an air force officer who has important responsibilities, how much confidence do you have in the air force's ability to defend the country's sovereignty?

[Answer] As for the threat to our country, from the figures that we have obtained from various sources and from the enemy, that is, from those who pose a threat to us--let's not call them an enemy--their air forces outnumber our forces by about 4 to 1. And they have much combat experience. Based on the number of fighter aircraft that they have based in the southern part of the country, they outnumber us by about 4 to 1. But even so, we still feel that we can defend the country against them. We have fewer aircraft, and our aircraft are about the same in terms of performance capabilities. But we train our pilots well. We can beat them with superior pilots. We have fewer aircraft, but our pilots are well trained. Our pilots study various tactics. Our pilots must be well trained if we are to win.

[Question] Then we have great confidence in the efficiency of our personnel, or pilots, is that right?

[Answer] That's right. We feel that we have good pilots. But I can't say how good. But I am confident that they are good enough to fight anyone and win.

[Question] If we compare the capabilities in the ASEAN region, how does our air force stack up against those in neighboring countries?

[Answer] I think that we.... We hold joint exercises in this region. They are skilled.

[Question] But can we say that we are the equal of anyone?

[Answer] We are not inferior to anyone. But I don't want to brag and say that we are better. I can't say that (laughs). During the joint exercises, we pass on things to each other. We train like friends.

[Question] I would like to ask about the F-16 aircraft, the first of which will be delivered to the air force in 1988. After we obtain these aircraft, will the country that poses a threat to us take action to upgrade its weapons? Because if we upgrade our weapons, they will probably do so, too.

[Answer] Our intention in purchasing F-16 aircraft was not to start a weapons race or bring about a confrontation. But in view of the responsibility that the air force has toward the country, we have an obligation to strengthen the air force as much as we can given our budget constraints. Otherwise, the air force would be negligent in its duty, right? Our present aircraft are becoming outmoded. Even though they can still be used, it will not be long before they are completely outmoded. We have to look for better aircraft that we can use to defend the country. This is the intention of the present RTAF CINC. As a result of his special skills, we have obtained F-16 aircraft. No other country in the ASEAN region has this aircraft. The United States did not want to sell us this aircraft. But using his talents, the RTAF CINC persuaded the United States to let us have this aircraft. You can't purchase this aircraft without their permission.

[Question] What efforts will Vietnam make to obtain more advanced weapons?

[Answer] Let's look back and see what the big countries such as the United States and the Soviet Union have done. I will use the Soviet Union, which has very modern weapons and equipment, as an example. They are constantly developing their weapons systems. At a certain point, they begin demobilizing their old weapons. Because the old aircraft can still be used, they make them available to their client states. The country that poses a threat to us will probably get these aircraft. If they do, that will pose a danger.

[Question] What is the latest aircraft model that they are transferring to their client states?

[Answer] North Korea has been equipped with tens of Mig-23 aircraft. This is a clear example.

[Question] Vietnam's most advanced aircraft is the Mig-21, isn't that right?

[Answer] Yes, Vietnam's most advanced aircraft is the Mig-21. They have not been equipped with Mig-23 aircraft. As far as we know, Vietnam has not been equipped with such aircraft directly. There are Mig-23 aircraft at Cam Ranh Bay. But it is thought that those are piloted by Soviet pilots.

[Question] What about Laos?

[Answer] Laos has Mig-21 aircraft, too.

[Question] But North Korea has already been equipped with Mig-23s.

[Answer] That's right.

[Question] In your view, which is the better aircraft, the Mig-23 or the F-16?

[Answer] The Mig-23 is a very fearsome aircraft. It can fly at twice the speed of sound. They designed these as interceptors. But they can be modified or used in tactical operations. It can also drop bombs. But the F-16 is not inferior to the Mig-23. It is just as good an aircraft. However, both are just machines. It's very important to have good pilots. If we have well-trained pilots, there will be no reason to worry.

[Question] There have been reports that the United States has begun demobilizing its F-16 aircraft because this aircraft is becoming outmoded. Our air force will not receive the first shipment of F-16s until 1988. Will this aircraft be outmoded in another 4-5 years?

[Answer] I don't think that those reports are true. The F-16 is still one of the most advanced aircraft. The United States is definitely not demobilizing these aircraft, because there are still orders for a large number of F-16s. Several hundred have been ordered. And Thailand is not the only country that is interested. There are other countries that are interested in acquiring F-16 aircraft. As the RTAF CINC stated, we will be able to use these aircraft for many years. The technology used in these aircraft will still be modern 20 years from now. The weapons system and other elements used in this aircraft are state-of-the-art. These aircraft are still in production, about 2,000 as of now. Look, we ordered our aircraft last year, but it will be 1988 before the first shipment is delivered.

[Question] What are the most advanced fighter aircraft in the arsenals of the two great powers?

[Answer] As far as I know, America's most advanced fighters are the F-15 and F-16. The Soviet Union has several models, such as the Mig-29, which was put on line just recently. The Mig-29 is similar to the F-15. It has two engines and two tails.

[Question] In view of the fact that the budget has had to be cut every year in order to pay for the F-16s, which cost almost 10 billion baht, within 5 years, will this affect other sectors of the air force?

[Answer] This is something about which the RTAF CINC was very careful. Obviously, this will affect other things. He considered the matter carefully and decided to go ahead with this even though this will reduce the air force's development budget every year for the next 5 years. But he has not neglected to develop the other sectors of the air force. Today, we are developing things constantly. We have not stopped. We are developing weapons and rockets. We are

developing our education system. We have funds to send people abroad to study. We are sending pilots and mechanics for training. Thus, it can be seen that development activities have not come to a halt. Even though these aircraft cost a huge sum of money, we have money for other projects just like before. Nothing has changed. This is quite clear.

[Question] Is progress still being made in building an air defense?

[Answer] Yes. This will strengthen other things as well. He felt that developing our aircraft.... As I said, we are developing several weapons systems. The F-16 is equipped with various weapons. Next, we will consider transport aircraft and attack aircraft. In particular, another major system in which he is investing money is the Automade Addition System. This is an automated air defense system. This is known as the Royal Thai Air Force Defense System, or RTADS for short. Using the old system, aircraft are spotted by radar and then people issue orders. With the new system, information on the enemy is fed into computers, which then provide detailed information on the enemy's position, speed, and weapons. We can then send up interceptors from some base and they can land at a reserve base. Everything will be automatic. This will be an automated air defense system.

[Question] How long will it take to develop this system?

[Answer] Several years. We are now implementing the plans. There are three plans. We are adhering to the plans. Today, we are focusing on the eastern border. In the future, we will turn to the north and south. In the end, the system will be in effect nationwide.

[Question] Do the army and navy have such systems?

[Answer] No. This is the responsibility of the air force. We are building this system. We will feed data to the other branches of service.

[Question] How much will this project cost?

[Answer] A lot. We have invested a huge sum in this.

[Question] Will the heavy expenditures on the RTADS and F-16 projects affect other projects?

[Answer] Yes. We have halted work on certain projects. After these other projects have been completed, we will continue work on these projects. We are being very frugal with our budget funds. We have had to save money in order to make these purchases. Otherwise, we wouldn't be able to ask the government for more money. But the government is poor, (laughs). But fortunately, the government understands the necessity of it. It would be very difficult for us if the government didn't agree. We have to thank the administrative and legislative branches for approving this. If parliament did not agree, we would be in trouble.

[Question] Granted that the air force's other programs will continue, assuming that we will continue to face a threat from the east for the next 4-5 years, what do you think about the Thai-U.S. arms depot?

(Answer) This program was initiated during the period that Gen Saiyut was supreme commander. He feels that it will cost us too much money to stockpile all these weapons on our own. An alternative is to have the United States and Thailand set up a joint weapons stockpile. We will have access to the weapons in time of war. But we will not have to put up all the money. This will be tantamount to our having weapons. When we.... It should be senior people who discuss the details of this. I will confine myself to saying that this will be a resource for all three branches of service and will not require us to put up all the money. But we have to reach a definite agreement with them to ensure that they don't take advantage of us and to ensure that they don't stockpile weapons here in preparation for waging war against some other country. They aren't going to establish a military base here. As far as I know, there won't be any military base. They won't establish a military base. There will be joint talks. But this is a matter for senior people. Broadly speaking, if we can have a weapons depot in order to provide us with support, we should think....

[Question] In the future, do you foresee any situation in which U.S. bases might be established here?

(Answer) No, I don't. In the present situation, there is no chance of the United States establishing a military base here. They learned their lesson in the Vietnam War. They don't want to station men here. Establishing a military base somewhere just increases the potential for war. If someone builds bases in an area, it's as if they are preparing for war. This would not be beneficial. It is not necessary. They have a rapid deployment force. I don't think that this is necessary. And we are standing on our own feet now. We are a sovereign country and must give first consideration to our country's needs. But if war breaks out and it is a matter of life and death, it might be necessary for them to come. We might need them.

[Question] Would you summarize the immediate tasks of the Directorate of Operations? Will it be engaged in special tasks or routine work this next year?

(Answer) We always have very heavy responsibilities. Our job is to ensure that everything goes according to plan and benefits the military and government units. As I said before, if anything arises, we are the support sector. The initiative must come from higher units through the Ministry of Defense, the supreme commander, and the air force. The air force is composed of many elements. Our job is to keep our men and weapons at peak efficiency. We have 5- and 10-year programs. We are carrying on development projects based on the policies. We are doing things in accord with the budget funds allotted us as ordered by the RTAF CINC.

One of the policies formulated by the RTAF CINC is that we must develop in every way possible in order to modernize the air force as much as possible given our budget constraints. We have to turn the air force into an air force

with advanced technology. Even though we have a small air force, it is very efficient. This is a major policy. We are given new tasks all the time based on the funds allotted us and based on technological developments.

These are the main policies that I must adhere to in carrying out my duties. Take U.S. technology, for example. We have to send students there to study the latest technology. There are many things to do.

[Question] Today, most of the people sent for training are sent to the United States, is that right?

[Answer] Some are sent there. Some are sent to England. People are sent to both England and the United States for flight training. For other subjects, people are sent to several different countries. We have sent people to Japan, France, Australia, Germany, and even India. We want our people to learn a variety of subjects. We then fit things together in a way that suits us best.

[Question] Have pilots been sent to train on the F-16?

[Answer] Not yet. We will send them just before the aircraft are delivered. They will be trained in time to take delivery of the aircraft.

[Biography]

Air Vice Marshal Samat Sotsathit, the RTAF operations chief, is a rather straightforward man. He still looks very young even though he will soon be 50 years old.

He attended the RTAF Academy as a member of Class 3. Just 2 classes separate him from members of RTAF Academy Class 1, or air force CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 5, such as Air Chief Marshal Kaset Rotchananin, the RTAF chief of staff, Air Chief Marshal Woranarot Pphichari, the assistant RTAF CINC, and Air Marshal Kan Phimanthip, the RTAF Security Force. He was one of the first members of his class to be promoted to the rank of air vice marshal. Fellow classmates include Air Vice Marshal Kriangkrai Sinthawanon, the deputy director of the Directorate of Air Operations Control, and Group Capt Chaloem Prasoetsi, the deputy commandant of the RTAF Academy.

After graduating from the RTAF Academy, he took pilot training at Nakhon Ratchasima. But before he could graduate, he was sent to the United States for training. There, he completed the courses in flying and combat flying. On his return to Thailand, he served in various units and attended various schools, including the Air Command and Staff College and the Squadron Officers School.

It can be said that ever since he began his career in 1960, Air Vice Marshal Samat has always been associated with squadrons and wings, serving as a pilot and operations officer. From deputy squadron leader, he was promoted to squadron leader. After that, he served as the chief of staff of a wing. He was then promoted to deputy wing commander and wing commander. His last position at that level was commander of the 2d Wing at Lopburi. After that, he was appointed assistant air attache in Washington. After serving there for 3 years, he returned to Thailand and was appointed deputy director of RTAF

operations. In 1985 he was appointed director of RTAF operations. This is his second year in this position.

He has performed many special duties. For example, during the Korean War, he served as an RTAF transport pilot attached to the United Nations in Japan. In 1969 he served as the head of Unit 531, which was stationed in Lomsak District, Phetchabun Province. The unit's task was to help eliminate the communist terrorists. He was a member of the 9-man acrobatic team headed by Air Marshal Pruongwit Hongsanan, the present deputy RTAF chief of staff. He served as the head of the work team that formulated a plan for joint Thai-Malaysian training exercises. And he was the director of a joint Thai-Indonesian training exercise. As many people may remember, he was appointed senator during the period that Gen Kriangsak Chamanan was prime minister (1978). But when he was assigned abroad, he resigned this position in order to set a good example.

"Don't go into too much detail. It wouldn't be proper," said the RTAF operations chief to KHAO PHISET when discussing his background.

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COMMENTARY ASSAILS GOVERNMENT ON VIETNAM, U.S. POLICIES

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 3-9 Dec 86 pp 22-25

[Article by Krungthong: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a Political Lesson"]

[Text] What Is politics, particularly international politics? Those who have been taught lessons and who should have gained knowledge and tried to remember the lessons in order to profit from them are officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that is the privileged individuals and intellectual products of the United States in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the minister. Because during the past several years, many disturbing things have happened. The United States has stepped on Thailand by imposing trade barriers and constantly applied pressure of various sorts. Every day, this pressure has grown stronger. Most recently, our great friend, the United States, promulgated a law increasing tariffs on all types of goods imported from Thailand. At the same time, exemptions were granted to 50 other satellite countries. Even though Thailand has always been an "honest" and "loyal" satellite of the United States, it was treated like this without any trace of compassion or lingering affection. This is a lesson that should not be forgotten.

For years now, the United States has tried to trample on Thailand, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been pressured mercilessly. I want to quote statements made by Surakian Sathianthai at a seminar held recently at the Narai Hotel. He said that the Thai government has not done anything but "make appeals and complain" in an abject and pitiful manner.

Along with making these shameful "appeals and complaints," the government has received "excellent support" from the United States on such matters as the embargo. The "rights and interests" of the country and people have been bartered, such as in the case of lowering the tax on cotton. The problem involving the import of soybean waste and the other problems involving economic sovereignty must be solved. Thailand has suffered great losses as a result of such things.

Throughout this period, officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have rushed here and there throughout the world in order to "conduct negotiations"

or use diplomatic means in an effort to win sympathy and get its friend to relax things. No one knows how much money the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has spent sending "underlings" abroad in order to publicize our nation's stupidity. But to hell with it. In Thailand, you can't criticize anyone. And no one is ashamed enough to care even if others do curse them. This is a political and administrative tradition of ours.

But even with the lessons learned, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs still can't answer the questions. All it can do is "complain and make appeals" in a pitiful manner. Another thing is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had the Thai embassy in Hanoi ask the Vietnamese to release the 466 Thai fishermen whom they had arrested for violating Vietnam's territorial waters. Mr Sarot Chawanawirat, the director-general of the Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told reporters that Vietnam is prepared to release the fishermen as requested by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But fines of \$500 and \$1,000 per person must be paid. Mr Sarot said that "we have asked Mr Nguyen Co Thach, the Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Vo Dong Giang, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, to release the Thai fishermen unconditionally. Both men promised that Thailand's request would be honored in the interests of Thai-Vietnamese relations on the 10th anniversary."

But now Vietnam has asked for compensation and set conditions for the release of these men. In the view of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as expressed by the director-general of the Information Department, "Vietnam should not treat Thailand this way. Vietnam's action is contrary to international law.... (SIAM KAT, 14 November 1986)

Politics is a matter of "interests." Everything, no matter how great or small, is a matter of "interests," particularly in international politics. It is these "interests" that lead to conflicts between groups and between countries. Even though organizations, such as the now defunct League of Nations and today's United Nations, have been formed in order to preserve interests in accord with the law or what is right and just, these organizations have never been able to prevent countries from looking after their interests and seeking profit.

The United States has treated Thailand in a despicable manner all in the name of profits, and this is leading our country and people to ruin. Has the United States ever paid any attention to international law or even its own laws? Whenever its laws and principles interfere with its profits, it immediately disregards those laws and principles.

The officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or the foreign affairs minister, never "look around" and have never realized this truth. It can almost be said that the officials in this ministry just sit around in a state of dismay by all that has happened. Things shouldn't be like this in a period in which even an infant has enough intelligence to know what should be done. Resolving the conflicts that have arisen means coordinating international "interests" or the interests of the two countries involved.

The same thing is true in the case of the 466 Thai fishermen arrested by Vietnam. I find it difficult to believe that Vietnam would set conditions.

Because even though the Vietnamese are very poor, they are human beings just like Thai. It's not just Thai or foreign affairs officials who are human beings. Vietnam would probably free those fishermen for humanitarian reasons without conditions if it could be certain that it could coordinate its interests with those of Thailand, which is something that Thailand has never thought about.

What are those interests, and are there so many that Thai and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can't agree to them? No, that is not the case at all. I have been taking trips to Indonesia and these socialist countries for many years now. The only thing they want, or their only interest, is for Thailand to take a "friendly attitude." Regardless of whether it is a human being or an animal, even if we are angry and cannot be "friends," educated and virtuous people can at least show a "friendly attitude." This doesn't cost us anything. At most, all we have to do is say a few words occasionally.

"I had an appointment to pay a courtesy call on Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the Thai minister of foreign affairs," said Nguyen Co Thach, the Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs, to me several years ago when I met him at the Vietnamese embassy in Bangkok. He had stopped off in Bangkok on his way home from a trip abroad. "But when I arrived, I was informed that Minister Sitthi and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had cancelled the appointment. The press quoted senior Thai officials as saying that holding the meeting would not be beneficial because it would not help improve things."

"In that case, what is there for you to worry about?" I asked. I used the English word "worry" because the conversation was in English.

He smiled, but his face was cold. "This is a political and diplomatic custom. Whenever we have a chance, we should stop and pay our respects to those with whom we have relations," said Nguyen Co Thach to me. "I have done this in many countries. This is a matter of diplomatic courtesy."

I nodded in agreement and said, "then in that case, you should return to Hanoi. You have much to do there. Shouldn't you be there working instead of coming here as a matter of diplomatic courtesy?" Nguyen Co Thach, one of the world's leading diplomats, smiled at me coldly and then laughed.

I can't tell you whether Thailand, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has every shown any diplomatic courtesy or whether such diplomatic customs are "reserved" for certain people and certain countries. Or in the case of Indochina, do we reserve such courtesies for Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan, Pol Pot, and Ieng Sary?

It can be said that Thailand, particularly Thailand's ruling class, has very little or no affection for Vietnam. Day in and day out, the radio, television, and other branches of the mass media take a hostile attitude toward Vietnam. They criticize and condemn Vietnam and print lies and distortions. We hear and read such things almost daily. This has been going on for about a decade now. The hope is that Vietnam will collapse as a result of this show of hostility.

But Vietnam has not collapsed. It has survived and will probably continue to survive as one of the countries on the Indochina Peninsula. I would like to think so!

What have we gained by creating resentment and blindly engaging in this feud for so many years? All that we have been doing is "barking at shadows," which is useless. All that has been gained is that some members of the ruling class and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs feel proud of having had an opportunity to serve their "master."

Countries everywhere take a friendly attitude if it will promote the interests of the country and the people of that country. Only a handful of Americans have been seized and held hostage in Lebanon. The number of Americans seized does not come close to the 466 Thai who "intentionally" violated Vietnamese law. To gain the release of just a few of its citizens, the United States uses every means it can, including "underground" means. This is true even in the case of Iran. The United States was deeply embarrassed and lost face when Iran seized American diplomats without regard to international law or international political custom. But now, the president of the United States admits that he secretly sent his men to Iran 18 months ago in order to ask Iran to help free the hostages in exchange for various things from the United States. Even if it means losing face before the world, they are willing to do that for the sake of their citizens and the "interests" of their citizens. The United States has done this even though it has done everything it can to destroy Iran and Khomeini's system. It even encouraged Iraq to fight a proxy war by providing huge sums of money both directly and indirectly.

In the world of international politics, there are no friends and no enemies, just interests. After years of criticizing each other, China and the Soviet Union are now trying to reconcile their differences. Each side is doing this solely for the sake of its own interests. Actually, the conflict between China and the Soviet Union has deep roots. China has never trusted the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union has never trusted China. Restoring friendly relations between these two countries will never "be easy." They will never be very close friends. But what the two countries can agree on is trade, which can benefit both countries. The two countries can gain from each other both directly and indirectly.

The same thing is true in the case of the United States and the Soviet Union. The two countries criticize and condemn each other all the time. But when the time comes, the leaders of the two countries meet and reach agreements. The struggle between the capitalist bloc, which is led by the United States, and the communist bloc, which is led by the Soviet Union, will continue. But no matter how intense it becomes, the United States will continue to sell huge quantities of agricultural products and certain types of technology to the Soviet Union. Similarly, the Soviet Union will sell millions of dollars worth of heavy industrial equipment, chemicals, and other goods to the United States.

This "verbal strategy" type of politics must continue so that each side can maintain its interests as a great power. But in reaching agreements in order to promote their interests, they do things quietly so that no "Ta Yu" has a

chance to interfere. Today's "Ta Yu" are not as clever as those found in the fable. They are all quite stupid.

In the world today, every country is in a position to bargain with other countries in the interest of each country. Each country must use what it has to "bargain" for political benefit. You can't bargain using international law, which is what the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried to do when it "complained" when Vietnam set "conditions" for the release of the 466 fishermen. If international law could solve the problems, Nicaragua would not have filed suit against the United States in the World Court, the Lebanese and Palestinian problems would not exist, there would not be a problem in East Timor, and the hundreds of other problems in the world today would not exist. Even the South African problem, which is proving very difficult to solve, would not have arisen.

International law is just a tool that can be used occasionally in certain situations. But actually, everything depends on whether the interests of the parties involved can be coordinated. Thus, whether Vietnam decides to release the 466 Thai fishermen with or without conditions depends on the interests of the "two sides." In particular, all that Vietnam wants is for Thailand to take a "friendly attitude" instead of trying to threaten and step on Vietnam. I am sure that if the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs changes its attitude as other politicians in the world have had the sense to do, Vietnam will release those Thai unconditionally.

It's terrible that I have had to take Vietnam's side like this. I will probably be accused of being "Vietnam's slave." But I have to take the risk if this will help enable the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Thai ruling class to help these Thai. This does not require great intelligence. And it will not cost us much to secure the return of these 466 Thai and help maintain the interests of the country. We must free ourselves from the chains of "slave thinking," which has us in fetters today.

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COLUMNIST FAULTS U.S. IN KOREA, COMPARES WITH THAILAND

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 28 Nov 86 p 7

[Article by Kamrong Thandi: "The Incident That Occurred in South Korea in October"]

[Excerpts] On the morning of 31 October 1986, more than 7,000 South Korean policemen stormed Konkuk University, which is located in the southern part of Seoul, in order to break up a protest demonstration being staged by 5,000 students. Violence broke out when students began throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails at the police. The police fired tear gas and sprayed water at the students. They also used helicopters to direct the operation. The incident then spread to six other college campuses in Seoul.

The police attack lasted more than 90 minutes. By the time it was over, they had arrested 1,219 people, of which 465 were female students. A witness said that the police forced the students to kneel and then beat them with clubs. They were then put on trucks and taken to a police station.

An incident similar to this took place at Thammasat University 10 years ago, that is, on 6 October 1976. The difference is that in South Korea, students were not shot or burned to death, the administration was not reformed by a group of military and police officers, and students did not flee into the jungle.

We should look at what happened in South Korea in order to see what led to such massive demonstrations that the government had to send in such a large number of policemen to suppress the demonstration and arrest these "hot-headed" students. Normally, in solving a problem, force is used as a means of last resort. This is because using force can result in people being injured or killed. And the news will spread throughout the world, which can tarnish the country's image and have an adverse effect on the economic, social, and political situation there.

At 1540 hours on 10 October, a poster, or wall newspaper, was put up at Seoul National University. The poster stated that the "United States and the South Korean government are using smear tactics against students, who are implementing a policy of peace. They have charged that the students are stirring up trouble. But actually, they are making preparations to start a war

on the Korean Peninsula." The police conducted an investigation in order to find those responsible for putting up this poster. Because writing such articles is against the law there.

The students demanded that the government release those arrested previously. They also demanded the resignation of President Chun Doo Huan, the reunification of North and South Korea, and the elimination of American imperialist influence. But what they got instead was tear gas. Students were arrested and jailed, and the university was ordered closed.

Are these demands such a serious matter? This is something that we, as outsiders, cannot answer to the satisfaction of everyone. The ruling class—which includes military officers, senior bureaucrats, and leading industrialists—foreign capitalists, and the United States are all pleased that the government took resolute action and suppressed those with "bad intentions" toward the country. But the students and those who support the policies of the opposition parties have interesting reasons, too. They want to see Korea united. They want it to be free to make its own decisions. They oppose allowing the United States to station 40,000 troops and deploy nuclear weapons in their country. They want to end the military dictatorship, which is bent on maintaining its hold on power. In the past, there was Dr Syngman Rhee and Gen Park Chung Hee, and now there is Gen Chun Doo Huan. They want the government to implement policies that will give economic, social, and political equality to all Koreans.

The students and people do not see a "bright path" for the Korean people, because the achievements have been scored amidst hunger and government oppression. Today, more than 4 million people, or 12 percent of Korea's population, live in absolute poverty.

Demonstrations are political movements. In a democratic system, each side tries to have its ideas implemented as national policy. But in a society in which one side has weapons and controls economic and legal power and the other side has only rocks, demonstrations are considered to be illegal and are suppressed using force. This is done regardless of the cost involved, because those who are obsessed by power rarely consider the costs.

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THAILAND

COLUMNIST WANTS BETTER RELATIONS WITH USSR

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 5 Nov 86 p 2

[Around the World column by Trairat Sunthonpraphat: "Who Will Be Communist?"]

[Text] The Soviet cultural trade fair in Bangkok, which lasted for 18 days, ended just recently. This fair was attended by about 500,000 people, who purchased approximately \$7 million worth of industrial goods and machinery. As a result of this fair, people here are now more familiar with this giant country.

The ill-feeling toward the Soviet Union stems mainly from the fact that the Soviet Union supports Vietnam's activities in Cambodia. Vietnamese troops have been stationed right next to the Thai border. But the world situation is changing. Since he became the leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev has tried to reduce tensions. He wants to be friends with all countries, particularly China and the United States.

The time has come for Thailand to stop trying to block the Soviet Union. We should find a way to establish contact with them, particularly on the trade front. Because the Soviet agricultural market is a huge market. Even the United States, which opposes the Soviet Union and which has urged Thailand not to have any dealings with the Soviet Union, sells agricultural goods to them. They sell billions of rubles worth of agricultural goods to them every year.

In 1985, the Soviet Union purchased \$105 million worth of goods from Thailand. But Thailand purchased only \$10 million worth of goods from the Soviet Union. Soviet agricultural purchases from Thailand will be even greater in 1986 and 1987. Also, the Soviet Union was very unhappy with the United States at the Iceland summit meeting. As a result, Gorbachev might reduce Soviet purchases of U.S. agricultural goods.

The Soviet Union wants to be friends with us. The problem is that we are suspicious, and we worry that the United States would not trust us. Because the Soviet Union has no way out, it has implemented aggressive policies, which have affected things along our border. I think that we would benefit greatly by establishing better relations with the Soviet Union and engaging in trade with them. It doesn't have to reach the level of Thai-Chinese trade. Half that would be fine. The Soviet Union would restrain Vietnam and prevent them from

stirring up so much trouble in Cambodia that Thailand is affected. Thailand and the Soviet Union have not understood each other. We have blocked them and acted like any enemy, with negative consequences for us.

The Soviet Union has held cultural trade fairs in Malaysia and Indonesia, and those two countries fear communism even more than we do. But they know how to keep things separate in dealing with others. They do not shut their eyes and ears. But we mix things. We have not formulated a clear policy. Whoever talks with a Soviet is watched carefully even if they are talking about trade matters.

During this trade fair, we lost face once again. Someone stole a very valuable crucifix that was on exhibit, and money was stolen from officials. But most Thai were very courteous to the dancers and fashion models. People cried on the final day of the fair when they had to leave Thailand. The closeness of the Thai and Soviets on this occasion should be a good lesson. Hopefully, this will continue. We should stop fearing the communists and use them to our advantage.

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CHAWALIT POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH PREM VIEWED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 13 Nov 86 pp 15-17

(Excerpt) Big Chiu and Power

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, has become a new power center. This was not unexpected. Even before the thunderbolt, everyone predicted that Gen Chawalit would be promoted from army chief of staff to RTA CINC. But one question is whether his promotion to the position of RTA CINC came at the proper time or whether he was promoted to serve as a mechanism for solving the political problems of Gen Prem Tinsulanon, with Big Chiu encountering problems of his own after being promoted? Many people think that Gen Chawalit was prepared to replace Gen Athit Kamlangk as RTA CINC. At the same time, it must be asked, if he was ready for that promotion, is he ready for further advancement? This must be studied in detail from all angles.

Ready To Advance But Not Jump

Big Chiu is ready to advance. But he has now advanced as far as he can unless a power front is created to enable him to advance politically. Because his next step will definitely be in the political field. He has announced that he will resign from government service in 1988. That is a clear indication of the direction in which he plans to move now that he has reached the top in the military.

An army news source said that Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut is fully prepared to enter politics. But he will not move too quickly. What is certain is that he will not make any jumps, because that would be dangerous for a person taking on political burdens in the coming period, when there will be more players and political problems than today. The news source said that politics has created problems for Gen Prem directly and these problems have indirectly affected Gen Chawalit. And now other political problems have arisen that have affected Gen Chawalit directly and Gen Prem indirectly. The question is, why has the situation become so fluid and what is the "link" that has led to these problems?

Too Solid

Our army news source said that Gen Chawalit's power and unity of command are now very great, almost too great. These have become "constricting," because things are too solid.

"This solidity has become stifling. It's like a person who has eaten too much. He feels uncomfortable. But this must be accepted. This situation has affected the organization of the system and the future of Big Chiu," said our high-level news source.

A news source clarified this matter, saying that based on the present political situation that has arisen as a result of the actions of government-party MPs, the question is how those MPs view Big Chiu. The answer is that they view him as the political heir of Gen Prem Tinsulanon. The political crisis that almost resulted in Gen Prem Tinsulanon resigning in the wake of the no-confidence debate on Police Cpt Surat Osathanukhro (LAK THAI published a report on this in its last issue) made politicians think that Big Chiu was about to enter the political arena. They thought that he might enter politics ahead of schedule because of political necessity. Thus, they had to get a foretaste by creating various incidents in order to measure the reaction of Gen Chawalit.

"Politics," Still Jealous

Our military news source said that the major political parties and important politicians still think that when Gen Prem grows "weary," certain party leaders such as Maj Gen Chatchai Chunhawan, the leader of the Thai Nation Party, who is a very prominent figure, may have a chance to become prime minister. Thus, these politicians must try to block the advancement of Gen Chawalit Yongchayut or at least make him think that the time is not yet ripe for him to advance. This would give the political parties a chance to fulfill their dream. Thus, Big Chiu has encountered more and more opposition. These opposition groups will probably do everything possible to block him. "Or it's possible that the actions of the political parties are meant to tell Gen Prem not to leave just yet, because Big Chiu has not yet been fully accepted by the political front. If Gen Prem remains in his position, the political power base of the political parties will remain intact. But if Big Chiu takes over, the political structure of the political parties will collapse," said our news source.

Military Pressure

LAK THAI's high-level news source in the army said that in certain areas, politics is interwoven with the military. Certain issues have laid out the path for Gen Chawalit Yongchayut, who is in such a tight power position that it is almost stifling.

Some power groups feel that this is a good time for Gen Chawalit to make his move politically, because Gen Prem is preparing to step down. "This must be studied carefully, because it is a very complex issue," said our news source. "Actually, the political issues facing Gen Prem could suck in Gen Chawalit,

too. Is Gen Chawalit willing to let this happen? The answer is no. He doesn't want people to get the impression that the government is besieged by problems. But actually, he is under pressure."

The news source said that Gen Chawalit is in such a tight position that he is in a bind. As for this military bind, some forces feel that the time has come for him to enter the political arena and that he should not wait until 1988. They feel that it is necessary for him to do this now. This situation may have been orchestrated in order to force Gen Chawalit to enter politics before the stipulated political D Day. This may have been done because of certain objectives within the army.

All-round Effect

Our news source said that if Gen Chawalit has to jump into politics now instead of waiting until 1988, this will benefit Gen Chawalit, because the political timing is right. But an intelligent person such as Gen Chawalit knows what will happen on the political front and on other fronts if he enters the political arena now instead of waiting until the announced time. As mentioned above, Big Chiu will move step by step. He will not jump.

"If Gen Chawalit enters politics now, this would have an all-round effect on the army. That is, the transfer of power within the army would definitely change. If Gen Chawalit left the military today because of political pressures or the need to enter politics, the person who would take over as RIA CINC would probably be Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff. It is unlikely that Gen Pisit Nobut, the deputy RIA CINC, would be appointed RIA CINC, because he will retire next year. The present view is that Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong will replace Gen Chawalit as RIA CINC and that he will be followed by Gen Phichit Kunlawanit. But that will all change if political pressures force Gen Chawalit to enter the political arena now. And you have to look at the political problems facing Gen Chawalit, too," said the high-level military news source.

After October 1987

Another news source said that if the political changes make it necessary for Gen Chawalit to enter politics before October 1987, the situation in the army will change and things will not proceed as planned by CRMA Class 1. But if nothing happens until after October 1987, there won't be any problem, because the reshuffle will proceed as planned.

"Big Chiu has to keep this in mind. He has to see the problems clearly, because others see the problems. It's unlikely that a person as intelligent as Big Chiu doesn't see the problems. But he can't say anything. He can't allow himself to become a target. He is in a difficult position," said the news source.

In summary, political problems are worrying Gen Chawalit. At the same time, he has his own problems and the problems of his colleagues to worry about. But no matter how constricting the power, he will have to bear it.

THAILAND

CHAWALIT'S SECURITY STAFF, CLOSE AIDES NOTED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 4 Dec 86 p 21

(Unattributed report: "The Staff Behind Gen Chawalit and Big Chiu's Security Unit")

[Text] It's normal for political and military leaders to have their own security units. Even influential people have hired gunmen to protect them. Thus, it is essential for a person such as Big Chiu, or Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, to have a security unit. In particular, his work staff is just as important.

A Simple Security Unit

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut is different from previous army leaders. That is, he likes to use his brain rather than force. He likes to ponder things deeply and has been nicknamed the "brains or computer of the army." This is because of this special talent of his. Thus, the staff officers to the RTA CINC are very important, because they are the ones who feed him data and carry out the tasks that he has assigned.

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut was appointed RTA CINC on 28 May 1986 and took over from Gen Athit Kamlangk on 4 June 1986. Since then, he has quietly made changes in the security sector. When he was army chief of staff, he did not have any security forces around him. Now that he is the RTA CINC, he is protected by a security unit, but it is much smaller than that of previous army leaders.

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has just a few security personnel. When he goes out, he is accompanied by just one or two soldiers in black uniforms and helmets on motorcycles and two or three staff officers. A military police vehicle leads the way. But it doesn't use its lights or siren to clear a way through the traffic. The others who accompany him when he inspects units are all senior officers.

Selected by the Army Directorate of Intelligence

A military news source close to the RTA CINC told LAK THAI that Gen Chawalit's security unit was formed by the Directorate of Intelligence, which is headed by Maj Gen Thawon Rattanawadi. The soldiers picked for this unit are from the

Special Warfare Command at Lopburi and the 11th King's Guard Infantry Regiment. However, the unit is very small.

"His security unit is very small, because he doesn't want many men. At most, he is accompanied by just four or five men, who lead the way," said the news source.

The RTA CINC's security unit is commanded by Lt Col Wichit Yathip, a member of CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 20. The head of this class is "Bai," or Lt Col Suraphan Phumkaeo, the commander of the 1st King's Guard AAA Battalion. Lt Col Wichit Yathip served with Big Chiu even before he was appointed RTA CINC.

Big Chiu's Staff

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has a staff of more than 20 staff officers. Each one performs the duties assigned him. They do not meddle in each other's work. Usually, Gen Chawalit assigns each person a particular job. Maj Gen Phairo Wongwattana is the office chief.

During the reshuffle of generals, Maj Gen Phairo's name was on the promotion list, too. He was transferred from his position as a special operations officer with Army Headquarters and attached to Army Headquarters. However, Maj Gen Phairo is still the office chief.

Maj Gen Phairo Wongwattana is a member of CRMA Class 4. Fellow classmates include Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, the 1st Army Region commander, Lt Gen Chao Khongphunsin, the director of the Armed Forces Industrial Department, Maj Gen Yutthana Yaemphan, the deputy commander of the 1st Army Region, and Maj Gen Thanaphon Punyopatsatham, the deputy commander of the Special Warfare Command.

Other staff officers include Col Chan Bunprasoet, who is responsible for operations, Col Montri Suphaphon, who handles technical matters, Col Thotsarot Muang-am, personnel, and Col Sunthon Chaimuanwong, Col Suphachai Rotphothong, Col Phaibun Chungsamran, Col Aphichai Warunprapha, Col Sonchai Montriwat, and Col Charoen Thiangtham.

Col Chan Bunprasoet is a very talented officer. He served as operations chief with the 4th Army Region during the period that Gen Han Linanon was the 4th Army Region commander. After Gen Han was transferred and made chief of staff officers at Supreme Command Headquarters, Col Chan Bunprasoet and Col Sarot Ropbamrung, another talented officer, were transferred. Big Chiu has made use of both these men.

Col Thotsarot Muang-am, who is responsible for personnel affairs, has much combat experience and lost a leg in combat. During the recent reshuffle of colonels, he was transferred from a division within the Directorate of Personnel and made a staff officer attached to the Directorate of Personnel. Col Aphichai, or Ong, Warunprapha is the vice president of CRMA Class 14. Fellow classmates include Col Nip. n Pharannit, the commander of the 21st King's Guard Infantry Regiment, Col Somphop Attanan, the commander of the 1st

King's Guard Infantry Regiment, Col Phonchai Detchatiwong Na Ayuthaya, the commander of the 9th Infantry Regiment, Col Kitkun Uthayangkun, the commander of the 3d Infantry Regiment, and Col Prasong Chaiyasit, the commander of the 2d Special Forces Regiment.

An aide to Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut is Capt Ithopha Manirin, a paratrooper. He replaces Maj Chatri Thatti, who has gone to attend the Army Command and General Staff College.

"The work is divided among the men. He knows what each one should do. He gives the assignments himself. Each one carries out the tasks assigned him," said a staff officer of Gen Chawalit to LAK THAI. He confirmed that Gen Chawalit works very hard. Sometimes, he works until 0200 or 0300 hours.

This is the staff behind Big Chiu. All of these men are very important to the army leader.

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CSO: 4207/61

THAILAND

ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT UKRIT DISCUSSES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 20 Nov 86 pp 55-57

[Interview with Mr Ukrat Mongkhanawin, the president of parliament; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] What do you think about the idea of revising the constitution to have the Speaker of the House serve as the president of parliament?

[Answer] It's difficult for me to say anything about this. Because frankly, this is a topic of hot debate. I am sure that the constitution will be amended some day. I will even go so far as to say that once the House has gained general acceptance and earned the respect of the people, the Senate should be abolished. But I am not saying that the time has come. We should be aware of the feelings of the people. For example, how interested were the people, or mass media, the last time an attempt was made to revise the constitution? The mass media predicted that the attempt would fail.

Is this a common feeling? How upset or disappointed are the people? As reflected by the mass media, the people are generally indifferent. To them, this is not important. To them, a much more important issue is the no-confidence motion on ministers. The people are very interested in that.

Thus, the statements made by various senators in parliament did not generate much opposition. In principle, what they said is debatable. But timing is important. The interests of the country and people come first. What are those interests? Is this the right time for this? Personally, I will accept whatever changes are made. I will continue to say this. That is, while I hold this position, I will carry out my duties to the best of my ability. But if the constitution is amended, I will abide by the constitution in all respects without any feelings of disappointment. The interests of the country come first. Few senators oppose this amendment in principle. Rather, they are concerned about whether the time is right. If the country is ready for this, I will take the lead in amending the constitution.

[Question] People felt that this attempt to revise the constitution was a struggle for power between the MPs and the senators.

[Answer] Actually, that was not a struggle for power. This position does not confer any power. People should understand that the person who holds this position is not the head of the government. Thus, this does not involve a power struggle. And the present Speaker of the House is not power hungry. He is from a junior class. We have a good relationship and work together well. He is a very nice person who adheres to his principles. I am not concerned about power either. I don't have any power to worry about. At most, all I can do is agree or disagree. Suppose that I disagree. If they amend the constitution, I would have to give up my position as president of the Senate. That would be the end of the matter. This does not involve a struggle for power. The present Speaker of the House has served as minister in several ministries. I, too, have held a number of positions. It is not a matter of gaining greater power. That is just talk.

[Question] But in parliament, it was quite clear that the MPs supported revising the constitution and that the senators opposed this.

[Answer] That's normal. The question was whether to have the Speaker of the House serve as the president of parliament. That would involve a change among the members of the two houses. Thus, each house gave reasons to show its importance. That is normal. What is worth noting is that everyone debated the issue on its merits. People did not attack others personally. The senators did not attack the Speaker of the House, and the MPs did not attack the president of the Senate. This was a debate in which people cited reasons.

If you look at the records of previous debates on amending the constitution, you will see that people used inappropriate language and that the atmosphere was not good. But the atmosphere this time was good. People gave reasons. Even though people argued and debated with each other, people did not become boisterous. This was not a matter of making a sudden proposal and arriving at a secret settlement. People had to give their reasons. These reasons were recorded. This will be discussed again in the future. The matter is closed for the moment, and people are not angry with each other. The issue has died down. The matter is closed, and everyone accepts this.

[Question] Besides the issue of the president of parliament, some people are demanding that the constitution be revised in order to require that the prime minister be elected. What do you think about this?

[Answer] Some people do feel that this should be changed. But how likely is this? Looking at the actual situation, it proved impossible even to pass the amendment on the president of parliament. It was the MPs who could not agree on that. The issue of the prime minister is a much more important issue than that of the president of parliament. It will be very difficult to pass such an amendment.

If the MPs are not fully prepared but just keep on proposing such an amendment, these proposals to revise the constitution will lose meaning. In my view, the MPs should join together and form a special subcommittee to look at

the entire constitution and see what needs to be changed. We have been using this constitution since 1978. This is 1986. This constitution has been in use for a long time now. It has many weaknesses. We need to look and see what needs to be changed first. The MPs must agree and make changes on the basis of priority. Or the changes can be made all at once if it is felt that that will benefit the country and people.

If the MPs do this and join together, only 304 of the 347 voters are needed to make the change. They can make the change without the support of the Senate. They can even abolish the Senate. But they must have a method. That is, they must first find points on which they can agree. They must agree on what needs to be changed first. In this way, they can try to make all the needed revisions. They must show people that they are doing this on behalf of the entire system and not just to gain power or to benefit just certain people or certain political parties. If things are done this way, senators would probably be glad to participate, too. If things are done this way, I don't think that there will be any problems. There will be very few disputes and little bitterness, perhaps none at all. Everyone might agree.

[Question] But ever since the time of the Kriangsak administration, it has been very difficult for a party leader to become prime minister. Ever since then, the prime minister has been a neutral outsider. What do you think about this?

[Answer] That has been the country's way out. If there is no one from a political party, the country still has to have a prime minister and a government. But these outsiders still have to be on the inside, or walk their own political path. But I have never taken a political path, right? As the president of the Senate, as the president of parliament, I have carried out my duties to the best of my ability. I have never played politics in order to make preparations. I am being frank and open. When you are a senator, when you are the president of parliament, you have to be neutral politically. Thus, I have never been a member of a political party. I have not had any ties with a political party. If I did, I would no longer be neutral. I have never held meetings with and discussed matters with members of political parties. That is, I have never made preparations to take the political path. Thus, there is no chance of talking like that.

[Question] But sometimes, the person who becomes prime minister doesn't have to have the support of the political parties. For example, when General Kriangsak and Gen Prem became prime minister, they had the support of the military instead. Do you think that that could happen in your case?

[Answer] That would be very difficult (laughs). It would be difficult, because I don't have the prestige of Gen Kriangsak or Gen Prem. I am still very weak today and can't be compared with them. There are others who are qualified. There are older people who have much more experience. People may be looking at me today because of my position as president of parliament and because of the fact that I play a variety of political roles. But that is very unlikely. I have not given that any thought.

[Question] But this is the second time that people have mentioned you as a possible candidate for the position of prime minister.

[Answer] (laughs) It's you who have been saying that.

[Question] But it's true. This is being talked about in political circles.

[Answer] It's just talk. People like to talk about the possibility of this and that. But when it comes time to take action, there are a variety of factors that have to be considered. And the most important factor is that the person must be ready to take the political path.

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CSO: 4207/66

DOCTOR DESCRIBES KING'S PERSONAL HABITS

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 3-9 Dec 86 pp 2-6

[Speech in honor of the king by Dr Pradit Charoenthaithawi on 28 November 1986 at the Chulachiwawithaya Lecture Hall"]

[Excerpt] Dr Pradit Charoenthaithawi gave a speech on the occasion of the king's birthday entitled "In Honor of the King." Dr Pradit has long served as a volunteer on the king's medical team, which visits remote areas of the country, and so has had an opportunity to learn about the king's habits and projects.

He Leads a Simple Life

The king leads a simple life. His bedroom is small and is not richly decorated. Above his bed is a relic of the Buddha. Next to that is the first Buddha image given to him by the Princess Mother. This green Buddha image sits in a Sangkhalok bowl. To the king, this Buddha image symbolizes both the Buddha and the Princess Mother. He also has several other Buddha images, one of which is from the Sukhothai period.

The king is not interested in clothes and is not fussy about what he wears. An official of the king is responsible for readying his clothes, and whenever he has to attend an official function, his decorations are readied for him. He wears an ordinary watch. He does not personally select his clothes. Others select and prepare his clothes for him.

He eats simple fare. Normally, he goes to bed at 0200 or 0300 hours because of his heavy work load. But he gets up rather late. After he gets up, he drinks a cup of Ovaltine and a glass of orange juice and eats a couple of slices of bread or a biscuit. He eats a light lunch around 1300 hours. This may consist of either Thai or Western food. He likes light foods such as egg-drop soup and omelets. Around 1700 hours he has a snack, such as fruit, pork-stuffed tapioca buns, and stuffed rice-flour crisps. He eats dinner around 2100 hours. This may consist of Thai, Western, or Chinese food. In particular, he likes noodles with pork, a very simple food. When he is ill, he eats whatever is given him. He has a large bed. In his office, which is next to his bedroom, he has a radio, tape recorder, telex, and a seat about 100 cm long, 100 cm wide, and 2

cm thick. He uses this seat to relax. This is also his meditation room. He can relax in this room, because no one is allowed to come into this room. How do I know all this? Because sometimes I have to go and ask his advice. Next to this room is a small patio approximately 6 meters wide and 8 meters long. He grows a variety of plants there, including beans, which he uses to feed the birds.

In the late evening, palace officials bring flowers, incense, and candles to his bedroom. He uses these items to pay respect to the Buddha and pray for the country's well-being. He does this every evening without exception. When he gets his hair cut, the barber must wear a uniform and put on the royal nine-gem ring in order to ward off evil. Also, the wearing of this ring is a symbol of good fortune and a sign of honor to the king and the barber. An effort is made to keep the king's hair from falling onto the floor, because that would be an inauspicious sign for the country. The king is very strict about this tradition. When he combs his hair, if a hair drops to the floor, he picks it up in order to keep anyone from taking the hair. Many people would like to have a strand of his hair, but no one has ever found one.

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CSO: 4207/78

SANOH UNAKUN DISCUSSES NESDB PLAN, CURRENT ECONOMY

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 24 Nov 86 p 9

(Interview with Dr Sanoh Unakun, the secretary general of the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board; date and place not specified)

[Text] [Question] As a person who has been involved in formulating all of Thailand's national economic and social development plans, what do you think about the Sixth Plan, the plan currently in effect?

[Answer] The Sixth Plan was considered very carefully, and an effort was made to be fair. I think that this plan is in accord with today's economic and social situation. The plan stipulates a broad national development line in the form of a policy. It does not stipulate particular national development lines. This was done in order to give government units a chance to formulate their own operations plans in accord with the development line stipulated in the Sixth Plan. The cabinet resolution clearly states that modifying the plan for purposes of implementation is the responsibility of the ministries, bureaus, departments, and state enterprises. The Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board will serve as coordinator.

[Question] What do you think will be achieved during the 5 years that the Sixth Plan is used as the master plan for national development?

[Answer] I think that much will be achieved for the country during this 5-year period. In general, the economic and social situation is very favorable for national development. It can be said that our economic star is rising. If we let this chance slip by without taking action, we will lose a lot. Thus, this is the time for all of us to work together to solve the problems facing the country. Even though this may be very tiring, we must make the effort.

[Question] As for solving the problems and overcoming the problems in national development during the period of the Sixth Plan, what should be done in order to hit the targets stipulated in the Sixth Plan?

[Answer] In order to hit the targets in the Sixth Plan or any other plan, I think that the most important thing is modifying the plan for implementation so as to achieve the best results possible. Otherwise, the plan will remain just a piece of paper. In modifying the plan for implementation, the role of

the ministries, bureaus, departments, and state enterprises must be changed. These units must no longer be allowed to carry out things in isolation from each other. Instead, an effort must be made to create a work system in which there is greater coordination between the units.

In the private sector, which can be said to be the spearhead of national development during the period of the Sixth Plan, the private institutions must work together very closely. A system to coordinate things closely within the private sector must be built so that the private sector is ready to take on greater responsibilities during this period.

[Question] What progress will be made in agricultural and industrial development during this period?

[Answer] I would like to say that ever since we began formulating national economic and social development plans, we have always tried to spread the risk in the economic sectors in order to reduce the chance of someone suffering a loss. In the agricultural field, we have tried to spread the risk by encouraging the farmers to grow upland field crops and a variety of vegetables. That is, in each farm area, the farmers should engage in a variety of farming activities. For example, along with growing rice, they could grow vegetables or fruit or raise fish. As for spreading the risk in industry, we have promoted and supported the growth of new industries in order to have a variety of industries.

Trying to spread the risk as much as possible can be called a form of insurance in national development. I like to refer to this strategy as a "Thai-style Nicks" strategy, or Thai-style strategy of industrialization. I think that this national development strategy is in accord with Thai social and cultural conditions.

[Question] I have reservations about your statement that the farmers should engage in a variety of agricultural activities in order to spread the risk. That would require much capital, but most of our farmers lack capital. How could they do that?

[Answer] You have to understand that creating a variety of agricultural activities in the agricultural areas will require engaging in industrial agriculture. Agriculture and industry must be tied to each other. Thus, the capital needed to invest in these agricultural activities will not come from the poor farmers. It will come from industry, which will help the farmers increase production efficiency and improve the quality of the products so that the farmers can produce good-quality goods to feed industry.

I think that if this happens, it will help improve the farmers' standard of living. Also, seasonal unemployment among the farmers will decline, because they will be engaged in a variety of tasks that will occupy them year-round.

[Question] Ever since we began using national economic and social development plans, the agricultural sector's rate of growth has declined steadily. What effect will this have?

[Answer] The effect of this will be that our country will stop relying solely on the agricultural sector and instead begin relying more on other economic sectors, particularly industry and services. This will help reduce the country's risk. During the period of the Sixth Plan, the percentage of people engaged in farming will decline. The decline in the number of farmers will continue until the other economic sectors are able to support farming adequately. That is what happened in developed countries such as the United States and Japan.

[Question] I would like to ask your opinion on solving the rice problem. Is there any chance of formulating a long-term plan to solve this problem so that arguments don't arise every production season?

[Answer] I think that the arguments on how to solve the rice problem will stop when some unit takes full responsibility for the rice problem. For example, the unit could purchase all the rice from the farmers at a price set by that unit. But this would be very difficult to implement.

[Question] What is your view on the rice price problem, part of which is due to the fact that the farmers, rice mills, and rice exporters don't have equal bargaining power?

[Answer] I agree that that is one of the things responsible for this problem. Today, the farmers have very little bargaining power as far as rice prices are concerned. The government must do something to help the farmers. And in doing so, the government must improve the tools that it uses to help the farmers. It must increase the efficiency of these tools so that this aid actually reaches the farmers. The tools that need to be improved are those government tools that are inefficient by nature.

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CSO: 4207/73

MILLERS' ASSOCIATION CHIEF VIEWS RICE ISSUES

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 17-23 Nov 86 pp 10-12

[Interview with Wisan Phatraprasit, the president of the Rice Mill Association of Thailand; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Would you comment on the present rice price problem?

[Answer] As for the rice problem, first of all, I would like to say that this is a major problem. Every administration has tried to solve this problem. I am sure that past administrations have all been sincere about wanting to solve the rice problem and the farm problem. They have all been very intent on solving these problems. But the problem is, they have not gone about this the right way. The most important thing is that the organizations that the government has used to try and solve the farm problem have not always been efficient. There has been a lack of unity. As a result, the government's help has not reached the farmers. It has not made a determined effort. Besides that, the private sector has not really been sincere about helping the farmers.

[Question] As a person who has been involved in the rice business for a long time, what do you think is the right way to solve this problem?

[Answer] I think that long-term measures should be implemented to solve the farm problem. This should begin with production. I have never agreed with the idea of reducing the rice area. I have never thought that this would help solve the rice problem. In my view, we should focus on improving the quality of the rice and on reducing production costs. We should try to increase yields per rai and improve the quality of the rice. Our Jasmine rice, for example, is superior to that produced in other countries. We could capture foreign markets and take markets away from other countries. Our problem is one of quality. We have not made a real effort to solve this problem. We have not implemented controls. Products are adulterated and so on. Our Jasmine rice has become the same as Chambi rice. If we can formulate a good production plan, I think that we will be able to compete as far as marketing is concerned.

As for marketing and trading, we have to improve the efficiency of the organizations concerned. We have to build unity. This is a national matter. We must use at least five organizations, or five ministries. The ministries of finance, interior, agriculture, industry, and commerce must cooperate in

formulating a long-term plan. These five organizations must show unity and coordinate things. The Ministry of Finance must provide the money needed to carry on things. The Ministry of Interior is involved because it has the power to implement things. I once served as a subdistrict chief. I know what role interior plays. If it cooperates, things will reach the farmers. The Ministry of Agriculture must help educate the farmers concerning fertilizer and other such matters. The Ministry of Industry is involved with the rice mills. It must decide whether to eliminate the bad mills. It must take steps to ensure that people who bring in rice for milling get all their rice back. The Ministry of Commerce is responsible for trade matters. It must find markets.

We must find a way to ensure that our farmers can sell their rice for a profit. Today, the farmers are losing money. This can't continue. The price that people pay for milled rice here is not 2,000 baht per kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters]. It is around 3,000 baht. To whom does the extra money go? It goes to the small merchants. The farmers don't benefit. The money goes to the small dealers. Today, we are selling rice abroad at low prices. But prices here are high. The money that we spend on rice does not go to the farmers. This is what is happening. The same thing is true in the case of fertilizer. Resolute action is not being taken. When I was a subdistrict chief, we were given Heng Sua fertilizer. But when it arrived, it couldn't be used. And we couldn't return it.

[Question] In short, to solve the farm problem, we need to formulate a long term plan.

[Answer] That's right. There must be a long-term plan. But in Thailand, government's don't last very long. They change frequently. And so this is the result.

[Question] Let's turn to the short-term problems. Based on the preparations that have been made, do you think that it will be possible to solve the problems?

[Answer] Yes, the problems can be solved. If the government makes a sincere effort, injects money, and supervises things well instead of giving money and then disappearing, several of the problems can be solved.

[Question] As for giving financial aid to solve the short-term problem, how should this be done?

[Answer] In my view, the government will have to spend at least 7.5 billion baht. I don't think that 5 billion is enough. If things are done properly, this will keep the farmers from losing money. This will raise the price of rice to at least 2,500 baht per kwian. In my view, it's good that the government is not planning to use the Marketing Organization for Farmers or the Public Warehouse Organization to control this aid. These organizations should be abolished. We all know how much they have accomplished.

Even though I am the president of the Rice Mill Association, I can assure you that I am not saying this on behalf of the rice mills. I swear that I have the interests of the farmers at heart. I have great sympathy for the farmers and

want to see the farmers benefit. I think more about helping the farmers than I do the mills. I am ready to swear to that. Last year, I thought about closing my mill. I let some people go. But then the government announced that it would purchase rice from the farmers and pay them 3,000 baht per kwian. I reopened the mill, because I wanted to cooperate with the government. I have applied to join the government's program. But for some reason, I was turned down. I submitted an appeal, but they refused to grant permission even though I have credit and bank guarantees. I would be glad to cooperate in order to see the farmers benefit.

Through which organization should the support money be channeled? I think that the rice mill organization, which is a private organization, is an expert on all aspects of rice. It has many godowns. It is prepared in all respects. No other organization knows more about rice than the rice mills. Again, I want to assure you that I am not taking the side of the rice mills. I just feel that this organization is the most efficient. The government can control it. The only thing that the government must be careful about is that the mills are now very poor. They are very poor. They might distort things. The government must be careful. But it would not be difficult to prevent such problems from arising. All it takes is a little thought about how to prevent the rice mills from distorting things and how to word the contracts. The banks can be made responsible for keeping an eye on the money, too. The responsibility must be shared. The government must have eyes and ears everywhere. For example, there are 11 rice mills and 3-4 banks in Wang Na District. Each bank could monitor three or four mills. Measures must be found to keep the mills from stealing rice.

[Question] As for channeling money through the rice mills, most people still have a negative image of the rice mills. Besides this, some people feel that the money can be channeled through the Marketing Organization for Farmers and the Public Warehouse Organization if the efficiency of these organizations is improved.

[Answer] I think that these two organizations can be abolished. They have done a lot, and we know the results. All they do is create confusion. I am speaking as a citizen who has a share in the country. I am not speaking in my capacity as the president of the Rice Mill Association. I am voicing my views as a citizen of Thailand. Everyone knows what the truth is. As for the rice mills, I think that people view them incorrectly. Actually, we can control the mills. If the mills are to purchase rice, there must be rice. They can't be given a piece of paper. There must be rice in the godowns. They must see how much rice there is in this and that godown. They must see both the figures and the paddy. If the banks give them money, they can supervise things in each province. You can't buy numbers.

[Question] What is your view on price guarantees or rice pledges?

[Answer] I have long said that these "guarantees" have destroyed people's honor. That is, prices have never reached the guaranteed levels. These guarantees must be like bank guarantees. With banks, you sign an agreement on the value and then proceed accordingly. If you borrow money from a bank, you have to put up collateral. The money must be repaid according to the contract.

But in the case of rice, things have not been done like that. I think it is better to say price supports. You support prices as much as you can. The same is true for pledges. If you can make pledges, that's fine. There must be an organization that will accept the pledge. But I think that there are ways to intervene in the marketing mechanism that will benefit the farmers. We can exert pressure.

[Question] The 7.5 billion baht in intervention funds should be given to the rice mills, is that right?

[Answer] Yes. It should be given to the mills only. Something else can be done in the case of exports. Today, we need paddy. We never fail to support the so-called. The old debt should not be cut. That would lead to bankruptcy. This should be left alone. If this money is used and the mills are supervised well, rice prices will improve. I am sure of that. As I said above, prices will increase to at least 2,500 baht per kwian.

[Question] In general, what is the situation like of the mills?

[Answer] Terrible. Eighty percent are on the verge of宣告破产. Over 1,000 mills are in trouble.

[Question] What is the main reason for this?

[Answer] Things have been bad for several years. There are several reasons. One is that there is too much competition. The mills have not been operating well. Today, there are too many mills. With the present output of paddy nationwide, the 17 million tons of paddy produced during the year can be milled in just 100 days. Many of the mills have taken loans and been to pay high rates of interest. The mills have to sell the rice as soon as they finish milling it. As a result, prices are low. This is one reason why rice prices have fallen, but they have no other choice because of the interest. Long-term help must be given. I don't think that giving help for just 3-6 months will do any good. They have to be able to keep the rice instead of having to rush to sell it. But it will be difficult to keep the rice mills from going bankrupt. This is not an easy problem to solve. Intervention must be done step by step. The inefficient mills must be allowed to go bankrupt. The good ones must be helped.

[Question] Will providing rice price support (and through the rice mills) keep the mills from going bankrupt?

[Answer] It won't help very much. But it will give them a little breathing room. Using the money to purchase rice will give them work. This will enable the mills to keep struggling. As for the government purchases, I think that the government should view the mills as "children," too. If the mills go bankrupt, this will have a great impact. The mills are efficient private organizations that are ready to serve the government. Local banks in helping the farmers. If this tool encounters problems, the farmer will experience problems, too. However, the farmer has more power than the miller. Attention should be focused on the farmers first.

[Question] Given the fact that the mills are experiencing such problems, what do you think about Kittiuttho's idea of establishing 2 000 small mills?

[Answer] I think his idea is different from mine. In my view, there are already too many rice mills. We already have enough. Taking a broad view, we can think of these as tools of the country rather than as property of certain individuals. But this country already has too many mills. We don't need any more regardless of who owns them. The problem is how to use the ones we have and how to use them to best advantage. If we want to help the farmers, we should use our resources in such a way that does not duplicate what we already have. Wouldn't that be better? We don't need to build more mills. Instead, we should find ways to make good use of the existing mills.

[Question] Kittiuttho hopes to eliminate the debts of the farmers.

[Answer] That is an excellent idea. I support that fully. The debts of the farmers should be eliminated. Regardless of how much the farmers owe, their debts should be cleared. This is a very good idea. I would like to see the debts of the farmers eliminated. The farmers pay large sums in taxes. They pay much more than you or I. Why is that? Because at each stage of production, they have to pay a tax. And they aren't even aware of it. The premiums are really paid by the farmers. Think about how much they have paid over the years. If it were up to me, I would use the premiums to discharge the debts of the farmers. They would be their own boos. I think that we should discharge the debts and start over.

[Question] You are in favor of collecting a rice premium, isn't that right?

[Answer] That's right. I probably have a different view from other people. I don't think that the premium should be abolished. I consider the premium to be a mechanism just like the gear on a car. Whenever you want to climb or descend, you can shift. The premium is no obstacle as far as prices are concerned. It depends on how we use the premiums. This money shouldn't be used for something else. If this money is not used to help the farmers, more and more farmers will go bankrupt and flee into the jungles. Whenever they make a go of their farms, their farms are seized. They move deeper into the jungle. But when they start to make progress, their farms are taken away from them again. I have seen this happen again and again. Truly, the farmers don't have anything. If you go into a kitchen, all you will see are a few cloves of garlic, a few onions, and some preserved fish. They don't have anything else.

[Question] Some people say that one reason for this state of affairs is that the farmers don't have their own organization to bargain on their behalf or stipulate policies that will benefit them.

[Answer] I think that that is going too far. I think that the subdistrict councils should be strengthened. After the subdistrict councils have been strengthened, action can be taken beginning with the councils. Things should be done gradually. The problem today is that the farmers are poor. We have been taking money from them for years. We have been charging a premium. We should find a way to transfer money to them. Establishing an organization

would be useless. It would just make things worse. To give the farmers greater power, I think that we should start from the subdistrict councils.

[Question] In summary, how great an effect will the farm problem have this year?

[Answer] This is a major problem, but it can be solved. It has not reached the point where it will have much of an impact on the government. If resolute steps are taken to solve this problem, this will have a good effect in other spheres. I would like to see the government allocate a large sum of money for this. Tomorrow, I will see the deputy prime minister (Admiral Sonthi Bunyachai). I will tell him that that is not enough money (laughs). If you want to accomplish something, you have to go all the way. This won't hurt anything. The money can be borrowed. That won't pose any problems if the money is put to good use. The problem is making good use of the money. We must ensure that the money is used correctly and efficiently. There are organizations that are capable of ensuring that the help reaches the farmers and of monitoring things closely.

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CSC 4207/71

KRAISAK CHUNHAWAN COMMENDS ON OLIGARCHS, CALLS ARMY 'FASCIST'

Bangkok NAM THANG in Thai 25-26 Oct 86 pp 27-30

[Speech by Kraisak Chunksawan at a debate sponsored by the National Student Federation of Thailand on 14 October 1986]

[Text] Kraisak Chunksawan, the son of Maj Gen Chatchai Chunksawan, the deputy prime minister and leader of the Thai Nation Party, accepted an invitation by the National Student Federation of Thailand to participate in a debate on the topic "Thirteen Years Since 14 October and the Development of the People's Movement." The debate was held on 14 October at the small auditorium.

Speaking about the structural changes in the capitalist class, the figures that have been printed in the newspapers clearly show that rice, sugar, and cassava are no longer Thailand's most important goods. Agricultural goods are exported to earn money for the national income. Prices of most of the goods produced by the small and middle farmers are depressed. To replace this income, we are earning money from the export of industrial goods such as clothing, precious stones, cloth, canned food, and electrical equipment. These are now our principal sources of income at the national level.

I will explain why agricultural goods are depressed. Simply, this stems from the policy of the United States, which is supporting its producers. They are flooding the markets to the point where our agricultural goods cannot compete. Second, I think that we are in the midst of a worldwide technological revolution. As a result, countries that once purchased or consumed our agricultural products are no longer buying from us. Third, important markets such as para rubber and tin have been blocked. As a result, the structure of agriculture is undergoing a rather marked change in Thailand. Today, in my view, Thai society is in a period of transition to what can be referred to as a situational society.

Looking at the nature of Thailand's economy and at the capitalists, the balance of trade has grown so unfavorable that these people have taken the money that they made by exploiting the farmers and invested it in other sectors outside agriculture. Mainly, they have invested in the service sector. At the same time, the form of capital has changed, too. About 5-6 years ago,

one group of capitalists succeeded in assimilating capital very quickly, the people were very successful. Some representatives wanted to support them. In effect, the new capitalists joined forces with the old capitalists. But all these people suffered serious losses, and many went bankrupt. The capitalists who revolved capital quickly brought in money from abroad. They bought this and sold that. Some major groups collapsed, such as the U.S.A. and other co-groups. More than 30 finance and insurance companies collapsed, and the government had to take control of their activities. Two small banks went bankrupt. I call these groups nonproductive capitalists. This is capital that is not building up production. It is not in touch with production and is not creating jobs. It is not utilizing new technology and is not trying to increase our production power. Also, it does not help create those persons to become MPs and enhance their reputations.

The new structure that is now in place is quite clear. At the very top are the large banks that have been able to maintain their position and the industrial groups that have horizontal axis vertical power relations. These include the Crown Property and Sanne Union Industries and Bellini- and Simeone- industrial groups. There has been a major cultural shift, particularly in the cities. There has been a shift to a consumer society. The youth have adopted a "boutique" culture in which everything is based on consumption instead of learning and a thirst for knowledge. There has been a serious decline in the desire for knowledge. I was walking when a friend took me to The Palace. It is huge. I had never seen any building with a capacity to hold 4,000 couples. People danced without talking to each other. People just looked at each other and touched each other.

I asked her about this and she said these people were friends. I asked what they talked about. She couldn't answer, because they didn't discuss. Also, they didn't talk at all. They all wore ties and uniforms and wore their hair very short like fascists. My partner advised me not to wear my hair long and growing a beard. They asked why I was a hippy. I said that I was not born long to protest the fascist regime.

However, I think that the decline of our youth is very worrisome and this occurring without any responsibility from the state or other groups. I think there that parents can oppose this culture. Their way out is to stop reading the newspapers and stop learning. This is very worrisome. However, a majority of transition from an agricultural production society to an industrial society must have support from government policies. Success in moving from a primary substitution industry to an export industry that can increase our foreign income comes from changes in the shape of the state.

The first step was the period after 14 October (1973). People tried to establish a fascist state. Around 1 October 1973, they killed those who opposed the then ruling class. It was a movement opposed to forming a totalitarian state. Force had to be used. That is, those who fought on behalf of the masses were driven from the cities. As a result of this, the centers of life ran from the production mechanism in the society. The use of these mechanisms opposing exploitation allowed other industry to spring up quickly. The proletariat did not have the same movement. Things were organized at the national level. They were able to protect the proletariat. Marxist ideas

joined forces with them in order to destroy the labor movement in Thailand. They failed to destroy the labor movement. However, during the past 10 years, its power has declined greatly. It cannot play an important role politically unless it has ties to intellectuals and students or others in Thai society who share similar ideals.

The important policies that will support the apparatus of the new capitalism are the state's policies. There are important mechanisms within this ugly apparatus of the state. And these mechanisms are playing a greater role. This includes the apparatus led by the new generation of government officials, or technocrats. They have formulated long- and short-term plans, strategies, and tactics to encourage investors both here and abroad to invest in Thailand. They have formulated policies to control labor in Thailand. They have to rely on other allies in order to achieve their objectives and enable their apparatus to achieve success. I am referring to the power of the Thai state, an authoritarian state, a capitalist state. I am referring to a state that supports private capital.

One pillar in supporting the growth of private capital is the "military." The military performed its fascist duty when it smashed the leftists and progressives, or liberals. But these forces are not authoritarian just in the sense of controlling ideas. They also rule the country and control the economy. They are like leeches. They don't produce. They take money to build roads, taking kickbacks in the process. If anyone protests, they are threatened. This is not in accord with economic reality. Thus, the technocrats must try to reduce their power. The technocrats must find allies.

In my view, they have found allies in the political parties, which have begun showing greater power. The state has had to begin compromising with the political parties, because the political parties have begun showing their ability to attract the support of the masses in protesting against dictatorial power. In my view, they have achieved results. The Sixth Development Plan will eliminate or sell the state enterprises. The primary target is to sell the state enterprises. And the state enterprises are sources of wealth to which people can attach themselves like leeches. These leeches must be eliminated and their power reduced. But this has not yet been accomplished. We are still in a transitional period. Every time that policies are implemented to reduce the power of the military and give greater political legitimacy to the parliamentary system, someone stages a coup. The coup is the principal tactic used by the old powers that have managed to survive in the Thai state many times. The military can still attempt to stage a coup in Thailand. But the previous two attempts failed. I think that they failed because greater powers were able to control the state's transitional period. The state is giving more and more support to capitalism.

Thailand does not have a real democracy. In my view, it is a democracy of parliament. Things are controlled by the political parties and senior government officials. That is the only change. In essence, there is no movement that can call itself the representative of the proletariat. This is because there are many problems. The first problem concerns the role of the state. Even though the state's image has begun to change, with people viewing it as more interested in the interests of the majority and of each class,

actually it has not changed very much with respect to controlling things, making arrests and charges, and sanctioning people. Second, the mass movement for democracy is still very weak. In short, I don't think that the democratic movement in Thailand, that is the progressives or leftists, can escape and criticise the real structure of Thai society.

What is Thai society? It is the means of production, which we refer to as the national income. Unless people understand the environment in Thailand and the new culture that has been created, I don't think that there is any chance of creating a better society. I am not talking about changing Thai society in the direction of Singapore and South Korea. I think that there are limitations. There is a greater shift toward industry. The agricultural society is slowly dying. The government is telling people that they must stand on their own feet and that it will not get involved.

At the same time, the sale of industrial goods is encountering fierce competition from other countries. As a result, the capitalists have to be ruthless with the laborers so that they can compete against South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Malaysia.

Thus, in my view, it will be a long time yet before we have another 14 October like that 13 years ago. It will probably be another 3-4 years. It's a slow process. The democratic movement should be improved, but I think that that will be another 14 October. Because today, looking at the statistics, the number of educated people who are unemployed is greater than it was 13 years ago. If we take this year as the starting point of the dispute, in the future, I think that the old words that we used in the struggle will still be applicable. Thank you.

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CSD: 4207/55

MP EXPLAINS SECRET FUND CUT STANCE, ARMY PRESSURE TACTICS

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 4 Dec 86 pp 18-20

[Interview with Mrs Yenchit Raphiphat Na Ayutthaya, the Thai Citizens Party MP from Bangkok Metropolitan who proposed cutting the army's secret fund; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Why did you propose cutting the army's secret fund by 4 million baht?

[Answer] Actually, no one said that the army's secret fund had to be cut at 4 cents. This was an item on the agenda just like items of other ministries that we consider.

When the matter of the secret fund was raised, I asked the chairman whether it would be possible to cut this 287-million-baht army fund by 4 million baht, leaving the army with a secret fund of 283 million baht. The officer who had come to explain things was silent for a moment and then said that that was not possible. I told the chairman that after considering this matter, I did not feel that having the subcommittee recommend cutting this fund by 4 million baht would hurt the army. It would still be able to function efficiently. I said that this should be done in order to help improve the army's image, because many people complain that the army enjoys greater privileges than other ministries. I asked how the minister of defense, who was present, felt about this. The minister of defense talked with the officer who had presented the army's view. That officer replied that it was up to his superior here to make the decision. Like a true soldier, Air Chief Marshal Phaniang Kantaram immediately decided that the fund could be cut by 4 million baht.

Most members of the subcommittee were very pleased by his brave decision and effort to improve the image that people have of the army. Many people feel that the army enjoys greater privileges than other government units. That is all that was behind my proposal to cut the army's secret fund.

[Question] Why didn't you propose cutting the secret funds of the navy and air force?

[Answer] Because the secret funds of those two branches of the service total only 8 million baht, which is a small amount and which is about right.

[Question] But the army thinks that it is unfair to cut the budget not just the funds of the navy and air force.

(Answer) They should base it on the money involved. They shouldn't be concerned about whether it is fair or not. They should compare the army's budget with those of the navy and air force. There is a huge difference between 3 billion baht and 289 baht.

[Question] The Thai Citizens Party is known for its close ties with soldiers. In particular, during elections, in constituencies having large numbers of soldiers, the soldiers usually support the candidate of the Thai Citizens Party. Aren't you afraid that proposing cutting the army's budget will affect the party during elections?

(Answer) I don't think that this will have any effect. This was done in my capacity as a member of the subcommittee. It doesn't concern the party. That is, the party did not order this cut. This concerns the members of the subcommittee, who have the right to take action in accord with their duties. The soldiers in the garrison zone who voted for Mr Samak [athawat], the leader of the party, voted for him of their own accord. I don't think that anyone ordered them to vote for him.

It's true that soldiers are not hostile to the Thai Citizens Party, but we have not received that much help from soldiers. We did not win because of their help. Most of the help came from the people. Thus, I think that soldiers who love democracy can make up their own minds about that is right and proper.

[Question] Did the party leader say anything to you about this after this became an issue?

(Answer) I talked with him about this after we discussed cutting the secret fund. After reports about this began appearing and soldiers began talking about this, I asked him what he thought about this. He said that I could decide on this by myself. He gave me the right to decide by myself. He did not get involved. This concerns me in my capacity as a member of the subcommittee.

[Question] Some people say that the reason why you dared take this action is that the Thai Citizens Party is now an opposition party and that you wanted to do something to build credit.

(Answer) That's not true. When I am working, I don't think about the fact that I am a member of the opposition. The only think I think about is that I am a member of the subcommittee responsible for considering the national budget. I want to do the best job that I can. We have proposed reducing the budgets of other ministries. Even some of the secret funds of the Office of the Prime Minister have been suspended.

I think that the army should conduct itself, or create the feeling that it is just like other government units. It should act like a friend of the people, putting on a uniform and taking sides doesn't give people the right to feel that they are better than others. The one institution in the country that

people everywhere respect and that can't be touched is the monarchy. And that is not because the king uses his power, but because he has great merit. We all have great respect for him because of the things that he has done for the people. Because there is only one institution that cannot be touched, other institutions should not act as if they are untouchable.

[Question] Some members of the subcommittee fear that this proposal will upset the army and affect them adversely. They have had officials report that they do not agree with the proposal to cut the secret fund. What do you think about this?

[Answer] Perhaps most politicians still believe that the government or parliament must have the support of the military if they are to survive. Actually, I feel that way, too. We have a democratic administration because of the efforts of the military. And so that is the general image. But that does not mean that the military has to be the "superior officer" of the politicians. It doesn't mean that no one can touch the military.

During the last session of parliament, some politicians took actions that affected the military. One officer asked why the politicians had to do this. He said that actually, soldiers are just ordinary citizens. I remember those words. We thanked him for saying that. But soldiers today claim to be democratic soldiers. We don't understand why the proposal to cut the secret fund by just 4 million baht has upset the army so much. They act as if this is a matter of life and death and claim that the army will lose face.

I have talked with soldiers and told them that the prestige of the army should depend on how well they carry out their duties in preserving the country's independence and sovereignty. Their prestige, or face, doesn't depend on their ability to control the secret fund without interference from others. If soldiers continue to create this image, how can the people expect the military to defend the country or work for the well-being of the people?

[Question] Doesn't the fact that members of the subcommittee are afraid of the military indicate that our politicians are still not standing on their own legs like they should?

[Answer] Perhaps. We have to admit the truth. And besides this, some people are still making charges. But I can't confirm the truth of this. However, without the fire, there wouldn't be any smoke. That is, some people charge that the military gave 10 million baht to certain political parties during the 1986 election and that certain politicians received money from the military. It should be possible to determine whether the military really did give help to the Thai Citizens Party as some claim. But this is not why I proposed cutting the army's secret fund. As I said earlier, when I am carrying out my duties, I don't think of myself as a member of the Thai Citizens Party or opposition party. I consider myself a member of the National Budget Subcommittee and feel it my duty to save money for the country whenever I can.

[Question] Some officers have lobbied you in an effort to keep the secret fund from being cut. Would you tell us about this in greater detail?

[Answer] Let's not use the word 'face'. Because I know these people quite well. Those who came to see me asked whether it would be possible to restore the budget cut, saying that the army will lose face if the fund is cut. I told them that the army's "face" doesn't depend on this secret fund but rather on how well it carries out its duties. I told them that the matter has already been concluded and that if I were the RTA CINC, I would give an interview and say that there was nothing wrong with this and that the subcommittee acted properly in proposing a budget cut.

It's true that the army may have to cut certain programs. But we must all try to save. This must be done in order to show that today's military is a democratic institution and that democracy is not just a word. This is also in accord with the policy of the prime minister, who wants all units to help save national funds. We all know that Thailand now has huge internal and external debts. And who will suffer the consequences? The people. Perhaps it won't be our generation. But our children and grandchildren will definitely suffer the consequences.

[Question] What was the response of the soldiers with whom you talked?

[Answer] They said that it was unlikely that the matter would end here and that the army would probably have to do something to restore the budget cut. There is nothing wrong with that. They have the right to ask for an increase. There is no thought of beating them. If a proposal is made, it will probably be necessary to take a vote. If the subcommittee that proposed the cut is beaten, that is fine. But at least the military will have shown the people of the country that the military is the military of the people. It will have shown them whom the military serves.

[Question] Have they come to talk with you many times?

[Answer] Yes, they have. Actually, the reason why this has occurred is that no one has ever dared touch the army's secret fund before. As a result, they feel that this represents a loss of face. But I don't think that those who have a high level of education should remain stuck in that old emotional rut. Soldiers in one period felt that soldiers should be on top and that no one could touch them. But that generation of soldiers is gone now. Today's soldiers should not revive that old way of thinking.

[Question] If the army fails to restore this budget cut, some people fear that this could lead to a political crisis, a crisis that could result in the collapse of the democratic system here. What is your view on this?

[Answer] I don't think things will go that far. However, there are definitely politicians, merchants, and soldiers who will try to use this issue to portray the RTA CINC as a man of little ability. They will say that in his first year as RTA CINC, he allowed the army's secret fund to be cut. Thus, if this senior officer is concerned about his position as a national leader, if there are toadies who try to cause trouble, and if he listens to them, I am not sure what will happen to our country. But if he has good reasons and follows correct principles and if he carries out his duties honestly as he once promised, I don't think that anything will happen.

[Question] Now that this problem has arisen, are you afraid of the dark influences and of what might happen to you personally?

[Answer] No, not at all. We are confident that we have done what is right. That is one thing. Another thing is that I know many soldiers from the ISOC [Internal Security Operations Command]. I once helped the ISOC carry on public relations activities. They know what I have done. I have frequently helped the military. When the military came under attack by certain politicians during the election campaign, I stood up for the military. I tried to change the people's image of the military and get them to understand the military. I did three things, but I never talked about them. I have never boasted about what I have done.

[Question] Although the subcommittee feels that the army's secret fund should be cut, there are others who feel that the cut should be restored. Will it be possible to reach a compromise?

[Answer] We have to see what reasons they have for not wanting to cut the fund. They can't just say that the secret budget isn't enough. If that is the case, they should tell us what the money is being used for and why it isn't enough. Before we started the budget deliberations, the military was claiming that it had carried out its duties well and that the country was much more peaceful than before as a result of Order 66/23. If the country is at peace, the military should help save money by agreeing to cut the secret fund. The fund was not cut by very much, only 4 million baht. Initially, the military did not object. The military has said that a cut of 4 million baht will not cause problems for the military and so why is it fighting to have these funds restored?

[Question] Many people feel that officers make personal use of the secret fund. What do you think about this?

[Answer] I can't say whether this is true or not, because I haven't witnessed this. There have been rumors about this for many years. There were rumors that an army region commander had the right to use money from the secret fund. It was said that he took 3 million baht for personal use. Regardless of whether he took the money for personal use, this is common knowledge. This is not a secret. That is, it's true that this is a secret fund, but people know about this. I can't say what they use the money for.

The reason why we have recommended cutting the secret fund is that the country is now at peace. It should be possible to cut this fund in order to reduce the national budget. Also, as I stated earlier, the military's budget should be like that of any other ministry. I would like to emphasize that there is only one institution that can't be touched. Let's not increase the number.

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CSD: 4207/61

SENIOR GENERALS' PROMOTION PROSPECTS ANALYZED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 4 Dec 86 pp 15, 16

[Unattributed report: "A Closer Look at the Four New 'Bigs' Who Will Replace the Four Old 'Bigs'"]

[Text] The five top officers in the army are Gen Chawalit Yongchayut, the RIA CINC, Gen Phisit Mobut, the deputy RIA CINC, Gen Sunthon Khongsorpong, the assistant RIA CINC, Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, the assistant RIA CINC, and Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff. Looking at the role that each will play and the path that each will take, the question is, who will become the next deputy RIA CINC after Gen Phisit Mobut retires next year? Big George, Gen Sunthon Khongsorpong, seems to be next in line for this position, in view of the fact that the person who holds this position will take over from Big Chiu, it seems that Big George is being groomed to take over when Gen Chawalit resigns before the age of retirement, that is, in 1988.

During next year's reshuffle, there will have to be a new assistant RIA CINC to replace the 1st assistant RIA CINC, who will be promoted to deputy RIA CINC. An army news source of ours said that Lt Gen Charuai Wongsayan, the deputy army chief of staff, has a greater chance of being promoted to this position than Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun or one of the army region commanders. This is because all of the army region commanders, including Lt Gen Wiset Wongwanit, the commander of the Special Warfare Command, were all promoted to lieutenant general this year. Thus, the army region commanders and the commander of the Special Warfare Command do not have the right to be promoted to full general next year. In the staff line, the position of deputy army chief of staff will be vacant. This position will probably go to Lt Gen Ngamphon Nutsathit, the senior assistant army chief of staff.

Now that we have looked at the senior army generals, we must turn our attention to those in the second rank, that is, those lieutenant generals who hold the positions of deputy army chief of staff, assistant army chief of staff, and army region commander-special warfare commander, which is the equivalent to the position of assistant army chief of staff. These are the ones who will move up. Lt Gen Charuai Wongsayan will probably be the first of these to be promoted to full general. It is quite likely that he will be appointed assistant RIA CINC next year.

Some people feel that Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun, the deputy army chief of staff, will be promoted to full general before Lt Gen Charuai. But our army news source said that Lt Gen Charuai will definitely be promoted first. He will retire in 1989 and will definitely be appointed deputy RIA CINC before he retires. Lt Gen Suchinda will have to wait and allow those in the "senior class" to go first based on time left in service. Our senior news source said that Lt Gen Suchinda will be promoted to full general in 1988. He will definitely serve as RIA CINC before he retires in 1990.

Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun is in the army's second rank today. Those in this rank will move into the first rank in 1989. At that time, the RIA CINC will probably be Big George, Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, who will replace Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut when Gen Chawalit resigns to enter politics.

Our news source also discussed the path of Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff. He said that if Big Chiu resigns in 1988 as planned, Big Day, Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, will be appointed chief of staff officers, Supreme Command Headquarters. This position will become vacant this year when Air Chief Marshal Thuanthong Yot-awut retires. But it is unlikely that Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun will be transferred to Supreme Command Headquarters this year. He will remain in his present position as army chief of staff. A deputy chief of staff officers or someone from another branch of service will be appointed to this position instead. Then, when Big Chiu retires in 1988, Gen Wanchai will move to Supreme Command Headquarters.

In analyzing the promotion prospects of senior generals, it is necessary to watch for possible shifts, which occur frequently. There could be unexpected changes, because shifts in these top positions have a "mutual effect." "Collisions" can occur at any time. There are no exceptions to this, even for members of the same class.

However, it is thought that Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, Big Chiu, will take steps to reduce the rate of "movement" so that this does not have a serious affect. He will probably try to foster solidarity until he leaves the military. Because when he leaves the military to enter politics, he will have to leave the army in the hands of a close friend who will serve as his base of support in the military. That person is Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, Big George. Today, there is quite a bit of movement in an effort to destroy this plan. The news source said that "if Big George falls and does not move up as planned, he will not be the only one to fall. Big Chiu will fall, too."

Looking at those in the second rank who will move up into the first rank of the army, LAK THAI once reported that if everything goes according to plan and no problems arise, Big George will become the next RIA CMC after Big Chiu leaves this position. Big George will resign from government service in 1990, 1 year before retirement, in order to allow Big Sia, Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, to serve as RIA CINC from 1990 until he retires in 1992. After that, it will be the turn of Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun, a key figure in CMA (Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy) Class 5, to serve as RIA CINC.

The army's new front rank will shift from the "old highs" to the "new highs." Those in the front rank will be from CMA classes 4 and 5, not Class 1.

Looking at CRMA Class 3, Lt Gen Arun, the assistant army chief of staff for civil affairs, the first member of CRMA Class 3 to be promoted to lieutenant general, still has a chance of moving up through this line. The problem is, Class 3 is "looser" than other classes. Classes 4 and 5 have strong solidarity and are "ready." And their solidarity will grow stronger as class members are promoted to higher positions and gain greater power. A prominent figure in Class 4 is Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, the 1st Army Region commander who took over this position from Big Sua this year.

Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri will retire in 1994, the same year as prominent members of Class 5, that is, Lt Gen Isaraphong Nunphakdi, or Big Tui, and Lt Gen Wimon Wongwanit. Big Tui was appointed 2d Army Region commander this year, and Lt Gen Wimon was appointed commander of the Special Warfare Command. Class 5 hopes that one of these two men will become RTA CINC. The reason for saying that Class 5 hopes that this will happen is that during this year's military reshuffle, Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri was promoted from deputy commander of the 1st Army Region to 1st Army Region commander, the same level as Lt Gen Wimon and Lt Gen Isaraphong. And all of these men have the same number of years left before they retire. Thus, Class 4 has quietly fielded a rival. A senior military news source told IAK THAI that the fact that Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri has quietly moved into position for advancement means that it is no longer a sure thing that either Lt Gen Wimon or Lt Gen Isaraphong will be appointed RTA CINC after Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun, who will serve as RTA CINC during the period 1992-1993. This may be the idea of "senior people," who may want Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, the 1st Army Region commander, to serve as a "balance of power" during that period.

Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri is a member of CRMA Class 4. Even though he does not have a strong base of support within his class as do members of Class 5, the fact that he has stepped into the same rank as those men means that the number of officers in line for the position of RTA CINC during that period has increased. Instead of having only CRMA Class 5 candidates, a member of a senior class is in line for this position also.

The thing to watch is which of these three men, that is, Lt Gen Wimon, Lt Gen Isaraphong, or Lt Gen Wattanachai, is promoted to full general first. If one of them is promoted to full general before today's "bigs" step down, that person will have a better chance of inheriting the position of RTA CINC when Lt Gen Suchinda steps down. The role played by Lt Gen Suchinda must be watched, too, to see whether he can exert influence to have one of his fellow classmates, that is, Lt Gen Wimon or Lt Gen Isaraphong, promoted to full general before the others. That would leave Lt Gen Wattanachai behind, because the other person would be senior by virtue of having been promoted to full general first. In 1988, the next position for the 1st Army Region commander, Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, the 2d Army Region commander, Lt Gen Isaraphong Nunphakdi, or the commander of the Special Warfare Command, Lt Gen Wimon Wongwanit, is assistant RTA CINC. The question is, which of these men will be promoted to this position?

Some people say that when Lt Gen Suchinda crosses over into the command line in order to be directly in line for the position of RTA CINC, a member of CRMA Class 5 will rise through the staff line by serving as army chief of staff.

This person could be promoted from either assistant RTA CINC or deputy army chief of staff. Our news source said that people should keep an eye on Lt Gen Wimon Wongwanit. Because the commander of the Special Warfare Command will probably serve as army chief of staff during the period that Lt Gen Suchinda is RTA CINC. From the the position of army chief of staff, he could become the next RTA CINC.

Another news source said that "Lt Gen Wimon has a good chance of being appointed army chief of staff during that period. And after he becomes army chief of staff, there won't be any question about who will replace Lt Gen Suchinda."

11943

CSO: 4267/62

CRMA CLASS 14 LEADERSHIP VIEWED

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 30 Nov-6 Dec 86 pp 9, 10

[Unattributed report: "Keep an Eye on CRMA Class 14: Who Will Become Class President?"]

[Excerpts] The recent reshuffle of colonels was not limited to just one class, and there were no unusual jumps, because the reshuffle of officers at this level involved officers from all the classes. Nevertheless, this still represented upward movement by "military cadet" officers, the "new blood in the army."

As mentioned above, the recent reshuffle of colonels was not limited just to CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 12, or Military Cadet Class 1. Members of CRMA classes 11, 13, and 14 were transferred, too.

Looking at the list of CRMA Class 13 officers who were promoted, it can be seen that many were appointed to important positions. In particular, Col Narong Nakpricha was promoted from deputy commander of the 4th King's Guard Cavalry Regiment to commander of this regiment in place of Col Rattana Chaloemsaenyakon, who was appointed chief of staff of the 2d Cavalry Division. The 4th King's Guard Cavalry Regiment is an important cavalry unit. It is equipped with heavy tanks and plays an important role when force is used. It was once commanded by Col Manun Rupkhachon.

CRMA Class 14 Is Rising

As for CRMA Class 14, or Military Cadet Class 3, this reshuffle did not see any great leaps by members of this class as compared with other classes. Only three class members were appointed to command positions in important units. And the class president is still a staff officer to his superior officer. But even so, members of this class already occupy many important positions. They are in command of key combat units.

The three members of CRMA Class 14 who were promoted to important units were Col Phonchai Detchatiwong Na Ayuthaya, who was promoted from deputy commander of the 2d King's Guard Infantry Regiment to commander of the 9th Infantry Regiment; Col Kitkun Uthayangkun, who was promoted from deputy commander of the 3d Infantry Regiment to commander of the 3d Infantry Regiment; and Col

Sunthon Winitchaikun, who was promoted from deputy commander of the 5th Infantry Regiment to commander of the 25th Infantry Regiment. Col Sunthon is also the deputy commander of the Chumphon Military District (Surat Thani junction).

However, when these positions are added to those already held by members of this class, this class now commands seven regiments. The other four are Col Somphop Attanan, the commander of the 1st King's Guard Infantry Regiment, Col Niphon Pharannit, the commander of the 21st King's Guard Infantry Regiment (the Queen's Tiger Force), Col Prasong Chaiyasit, the commander of the 2d Special Forces Regiment, and Col Sanan Maroengsit, the commander of the 122d Infantry Regiment. Besides this, several members of this class serve as deputy regimental commanders. These include Col Thawip Suwannasing, the deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Infantry Regiment, and Col Phumi Charunchat and Col Sophon Wanakamon, the deputy commanders of the 11th King's Guard Infantry Regiment.

Keep an Eye on the President of Class 14

CRMA Class 14 had 158 members. Excluding those who have died or resigned their commissions, there are now about 100 members left on active duty. Today, Col Sa-nghiam Sawangkhawat, who was promoted from deputy chief of staff of the 2d Cavalry Division to staff officer to the commander, is the class president. Col Aphichai Warunprapha, a staff officer attached to Gen Chawalit Yongchayut, the RTA CINC, is the class vice president.

However, a class executive committee and president are elected in December every 2 years. Col Sa-nghiam has been president for 4 years now. That is, he was elected when he was the deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Cavalry Regiment. Two years later, while serving as deputy chief of staff of the 2d Cavalry Division, he was reelected class president.

Col Sa-nghiam was transferred from his position as deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Cavalry Regiment following the coup attempt on 9 September 1985. Col Bunsong Phatrasongkhram, the commander of the 1st King's Guard Cavalry Regiment, was attached to the 1st Military Circle.

"We have already sent out questionnaires. This year's election will be held on 13 December at the Monthian Pataya Hotel," said a member of Class 14 to SAPDA WICHAN. He said that class members will vote by marking the questionnaire.

There are 15 people on the class executive committee—8 from the army, 2 from the navy, 2 from the air force, and 3 others appointed by the class president. The committee chooses the class president, who holds the position for 2 years.

Who will be elected president of CRMA Class 14 this year? Looking at the relative importance of the units, there are two people who have an excellent chance of being elected class president: Ko, or Col Somphop Attanan, and Ruap, or Col Niphon Pharannit. In particular, besides commanding an important unit, Col Niphon is the owner of the place where the meeting will be held.

Thus, he seems to have an advantage over the others. But "no lobbying is allowed. Everyone is free to vote for whomever they want. We are very democratic," said a member of CRMA Class 14.

BRIEFS

'BORDER KHMERS' IN WEAPONS TRAFFICKING--It was learned that weapons traffickers were going to smuggle a shipment of weapons into Bangkok. Police Col Bunrit Rattanaphon, the superintendent of Precinct 1, Suppression Division, learned that the weapons and explosives were hidden at 20 Village 5 on the Aran-Khlong Hat highway in Khlong Hat Subdistrict, Khlong Hat Branch District, Prachinburi Province. This was also the point where traffickers met to buy and sell weapons. Police searched the house and found Mr Mani Phengkun, age 29, inside the house. When he saw the police, he ran out the back of the house. Police Col Bunrit and his men gave chase and caught him without incident. Inside the house, officials found a large number of weapons and explosives. This included 3 AK rifles, 1 RPG and 2 RPG rockets, 10 M-46 grenades, 1,549 rounds of AK ammunition, and 19 AK ammunition magazines. Mr Mani and the evidence were turned over to the Suppression Division for further investigation. He was charged with the illegal possession of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. During the interrogation, Mr Mani said that he was a farmer. He confessed that he had trafficked in weapons several times. A merchant from Bangkok was supposed to have come and picked up the weapons. He had purchased the rifles from a group of Cambodians at the border for 4,000 baht apiece. But he was arrested while waiting for the merchant to come. [Excerpts] [Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 25 Oct 86 pp 1, 16] 11943

ARTILLERY WEAPONS, ARMS DEPOT--M.C. Wan once reported that the M-198 type 155 mm artillery, which is now being used by the AAA Division at Lopburi and the 21st AAA Regiment of the 1st Cavalry Division, will replace the old 155 mm guns in all the battalions. There have been reports that we want good weapons, but these weapons are expensive. It seems that the program to obtain modern artillery will have to be postponed until our financial situation improves. That is, within the next 3 years, only two more battalions will be equipped with modern artillery. The military has already purchased "copper-headed" shells. If the U.S.-Thai arms depot is established, various types of war materials will be stockpiled here, including "copper-headed" shells. If an emergency should arise and we needed large quantities of such war materials, we could "use them first and pay later." The problem is, regardless of how many of these special shells are stockpiled here for use in emergencies, there would still be limitations. Because while we would have a large quantity of shells, we would have only a few guns. As for this arms depot, reports state that in order to honor Gen Sajivit Koetphon, the former supreme commander who initiated this program, the U.S. arms depot in Thailand, on which agreements have been reached and which will "definitely be established," will be called the "Koetphon Arms Depot." [Text] [Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 13 Nov 86 p 10] 11943

ARMY URGED TO FOLLOW CHAIRMAN HO'S EXAMPLE

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 12 Nov 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Maintain and Foster Tradition of 'Uncle Ho's Army'"]

[Text] "Uncle Ho's Army" is a glorious name which the people have called our People's Army in past decades, since the first days of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.

That name illustrates the deep attachment to the people of our army, a revolutionary army which was founded and trained by Uncle Ho and which has followed in the footsteps of the venerated and beloved leader, the most representative and shining example of the spirit of total devotion to the people.

Our army has always been worthy of the appellation "Uncle Ho's Army." That is why it has unceasingly received strong material and spiritual support from the people, making it possible for it to overcome all difficulties, fulfill all duties, and defeat all foes.

After our total victory over the invading American pirates, however, because of a lack of truly stringent and sustained training to keep their end up and foster moral traditions, and because of the impact of negative phenomena in society, some of our cadres and combatants have failed to preserve the full splendor of the Uncle's Army and to observe strictly the military code in dealing with the people, that is, to serve earnestly, protect, help, and respect them, revere the elderly, love children, join hands with youths, conduct themselves properly toward women, and never encroach upon people's property. In fact, some cadres and combatants acted up while dealing with the people, observed social order sloppily, engaged in an uncivilized lifestyle, wore fancy clothing, and used an arrogant and vulgar language, prompting popular complaints and criticisms. These phenomena which ran counter to the Uncle's status were reviewed with depth by party echelons and all military units during their criticism and self-criticism sessions.

All cadres, party members, and combatants should clearly understand their duty of fostering the results of the criticism and self-criticism campaign and should be determined and ready to overcome shortcomings in dealing with the people. Those seeing the light should preserve and foster the traditions

of the Uncle's Army and conduct themselves as good revolutionary combatants anytime and anywhere, in major social events--meetings and conferences--and in other daily activities--visiting individuals and families, having fun, and showing up at public places, on the streets, aboard trains and buses, and in public parks and theaters. Everywhere they go, our cadres and combatants should always remember that they are a people's army, originating in, fighting for, and serving the people--their strong and stable strategic rear, their nourisher and protector, and a great source of material and spiritual force that has a decisive impact on the army's combative strength. Everywhere they go, our cadres and combatants should always show that they are the most pious children of the people. They should not do anything--even trifles--to affect the people's affection for the army and violate the people's interests. Rather, they should always show their gratitude and respect for the people. In addition to defending the fatherland, they should stand ready to do anything to serve the people's interests. All units, cadres, and combatants should take upon themselves to contribute effectively to ameliorating the people's material and spiritual living conditions thoroughly and to helping the localities build an increasingly refined new lifestyle.

They should not only fight the invading enemy but also work as first-rate mass proselytizers, whom "the people welcome when they drop in, love when they stay over, and always remember when they leave," and to set examples of self-abnegation, law abidingness, politeness, and good taste.

This being done, undoubtedly units and individuals with flawed performances toward the people can make rapid strides and our army can strengthen the army-people unity even more. And we can turn a corner--as General Secretary Truong Chinh put it, on behalf of our party, at the Congress of Party Organizations in the Army--"strictly observing military discipline and regulations, improving revolutionary virtues, displaying good military conduct, gaining the people's affection and admiration," and always deserving to be called "the Uncle's Army" and a people's army.

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CSO: 4209/185

INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF WORKERS IN PARTY COMMITTEES URGED

Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese 11 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Trung Kien, Ba Dinh Ward, Hanoi: "Appropriate Ratio of Direct-production Workers' Participation in CPV Committees Should Be Set"]

[Text] In the past, the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee issued circulars and directives on bringing an adequate number of workers into party executive committees at various levels. Recent draft reports to the forthcoming party congress addressed that issue in a more positive and tangible manner. Thus, the participation of direct-production workers in party committees is a dire necessity for installations in charge of production, businesses, and professional and administrative management.

A look into economic activities in some production and business installations shows that in places where party committee echelons are stable, loyal, and resolute, negative phenomena in economic management are somewhat limited, and vice versa. However, a closer scrutiny of individual cases indicates that there are not many loyal and resolute comrades and that their knowledge of enterprise management is severely restricted.

In light of these facts, I think it is imperative to bring direct-production workers into party committees; however, it is absolutely unwise to do so merely to meet the quotas set by the party Secretariat. Instead, we should, first of all, foster to the highest degree the comprehensive vanguard nature of the working class in a party installation having numerous party members and sympathizers hailing from various classes. But to help these comrades take the lead in economic or professional and administrative units, party committee echelons should, in addition to criteria required by the party Secretariat, mindfully train them along the following lines:

- Highly skilled workers, both men and women, who have been selected for participation in party committees but have not attended courses on fundamental dialectics should now enter these programs or study systematically the economic and political aspects of Marxism-Leninism so that they can master the basics of economic management in production and business installations.
- A regular activity of party members is to improve their revolutionary virtues and leadership behavior; however, for direct-production workers now

taking part in party committees this is even more compelling. We overlooked that problem in past years; we should now address it at periodical meetings of CPV cells, chapters, and committees in all production and business installations.

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CSO: 4209/129

CPV CONGRESS IN DUYEN HAI DISTRICT HELD

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 25 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by KB: "Forty-two Basic Party Organizations in Duyen Hai District Wrap up Congress"]

[Text] As of 20 September 1986, all 42 grassroots party organizations and chapters in Duyen Hai District have wrapped up their party congress. Before it was officially held, 456 party members met and contributed more than 700 suggestions to the draft political report to the Sixth National CPV Congress and to draft reports to the congresses of delegates to municipal and district party organizations.

At the basic-level party congress, party members earnestly assessed the local socioeconomic situation, reviewed their track records in the past term, and discussed new socioeconomic goals, focusing on realities and relying on the local potential of land, labor, and cadres. Basic party organizations and chapters elected 108 party officials with an average age of 36 years, including 40 percent of whom were newcomers, 60 percent were natives, and 40 percent were young party members who came of age after the liberation and have adequate awareness, virtues, and skills.

The youngest party official is Truong Ngoc Nam, 24, party committee echelon of Binh Khanh Village. The congress of party organizations and chapters in Duyen Hai elected 115 delegates to the upper-level CPV congresses.

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REMOVAL OF PRODUCTION CURBS URGED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 25 Oct 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by VIH: "Some Thoughts About the First Part of a Slogan"]

[Text] At the present congress of municipal CPV organizations the slogan "All for Production, All for Socialist Building and National Defense, and All for the People's Well-being" was again put forward. "Again," because in the past we already saw it and heard about it in newspapers as well as in organ and enterprise auditoriums. In other words, that slogan is not new. It was reiterated at an appropriate time so that everyone could understand it properly and thoroughly.

That time coincided with a serious decline in the daily diet of the families of genuine laborers. Housewives continued to worry about prices. To solve that urgency, in addition to restoring order to distribution and circulation, we should not ignore the fundamental need to produce enough food and consumer goods. Thus the slogan "All for Production..." came at the right time. But let's return to the word "again?" The slogan was again put forward because its implementation has fallen flat. When it was first introduced, we were facing a situation in which bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies continued day and night to put tight curbs on social production capabilities. And we were then forced to carry out bureaucratic pricing policy which reduced the enthusiasm of producers with economic ties to the state--a policy which stipulates, for instance, that the labor cost of a shirt for export should be less than the selling price of a potato--to maintain tortuous, untimely, and sluggish methods of managing and supplying provisions; and to continue to discriminate politically against honest producers and to favor those civil servants who work only a few leisurely hours a day and at a snail's pace throughout the year, hanging on to an extremely cumbersome and ineffective state administrative system.

Last week, an overseas Vietnamese friend of mine in charge of a business corporation of an association of patriotic overseas Vietnamese, told me that 2 years ago he went home to secure without success a contract to sell domestic calendars to Western firms to get foreign exchange. The customers wanted punctual deliveries, but were willing to choose models from among our domestic lists. Expected profits in foreign currency were too

substantial to warrant serious doubt. In fact, our overseas friend spent time lobbying organs; but in the end, domestic printing enterprises were not authorized to go ahead, despite a serious interest. Does that mean we want no dollars? Or does that mean we were afraid of exporting Vietnamese propaganda calendars to capitalist countries? Really, the whole affair was hard to believe.

That is why it is now appropriate to reiterate the slogan "All for Production...." Other stories can be cited here to illustrate that timeliness. For instance, notwithstanding a big effort to "remove snags" and "expand production," our Ho Chi Minh City has only been able, since the beginning of 1985, to use 50 percent of its mechanical capacity. Many of its production installations have encountered great difficulties; 20 percent of workers under management of the Industrial Service were temporarily laid off and given 70 percent of their wages. That situation cries out for scrutiny by the ongoing congress of party organizations.

But the question lies not only in putting forward a correct action slogan but also in implementing it.

"All for Production" means that we must invest satisfactorily in production, resolutely eliminate bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, rescind regulatory curbs on production, and build a dynamic managerial structure that stimulates production and bestows adequate material and spiritual profits on producers. We must also carry out socialist transformation with proper forms and steps, and we must renovate our economic thinking, organization, and contingent of cadres.

Apparently, the slogan is not complex; in fact, its implementation has given rise to complexities. That explains why it deserves scrutiny at this year's municipal and national CPV congresses.

We hope that the forthcoming National Party Congress will be the one dedicated to "liberating existing production capabilities and exploiting and fostering all national potentials to develop production forces strongly--as Comrade Truong Chinh said. And this is the biggest point of agreement between the party and people.

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CSO: 4209/163

NEED FOR INDOCTRINATION OF CPV MEMBERS UNDERLINED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 25 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Bui Van Tung: "Inculcate Revolutionary Virtues In Party Members"]

[Text] To stabilize the socioeconomic situation, which is fraught with difficulties and complexities, we should first of all stimulate the people to place great trust in the CPV. That trust depends on party purity and the virtuous behavior of cadres and party members.

It is not hard for the masses to understand why the party has committed errors and flaws in its leadership since we have been carrying out an unprecedented revolution. What is unacceptable, however, is the moral decay of cadres and party members--a decline that impairs the prestige of leadership, diminishes popular confidence, and creates conditions for opportunists to fish in troubled waters. Party and state regulations and discipline have been seriously violated.

Reports to the last CPV congress on party building ("Documents of the Fifth CPV National Congress," Vol 3, Su That Publishing House) clearly point out the existence of "moral decay, decadent lifestyles, and bureaucratic conduct," noting, however, that the "shortness of time and overwhelming inertia cannot generate necessary changes" (*ibid*, p 33).

A new party congress is around the corner. During the 5-year interval between the two congresses, what did party organizations do to train party members and what should we report to the Sixth Party Congress on that issue?

Is it true that during that time ideological indoctrination and the inculcation of revolutionary virtues in party members were slighted?

Chairman Ho's virtuous conduct was a shining example for our people to follow and an invaluable model in building the new socialist man. With supernatural energy, vigorous will, a total dedication to combat and labor, a simple lifestyle, and a benevolent heart, Chairman Ho successfully brought up a strong and stable contingent of party members. Nearly all his statements were aimed at teaching cadres and party and union members

to be diligent, thrifty, honest, just, conscientious, and truly exemplary. Chairman Ho advised us to match words with deeds and not to engage in empty talk and showing off. By studying and carrying out the Uncle's teachings, many cadres and party members have maintained their credibility and have properly discharged their duties.

It is now more pressing for us to learn from Chairman Ho's virtues and behavior.

The tendency to live and let live and overlook everyday flaws by dismissing them as trifling gradually leads to retrogression and sometimes to disengagement from revolutionary ideals. Some people used to see criticisms as bullying and head-hunting attempts, oblivious to the fact that they are party members and that higher officials are more obliged to watch out for smaller shortcomings. When we hear about a party member sinking into backwardness, we readily conclude that "indeed, individual straying is unavoidable," but we are shocked by reports that tens of thousands of party members were expelled from the party between two congresses. Clearly, the party would be better off with fewer of these unavoidable dismissals. A pure party would make it more prestigious. Party members with long-standing status and at higher positions should display first-rate conduct inasmuch as they are seen as shining examples for others to follow and as weighty voices in political education.

Our party enjoys real prestige with the masses, which pin their faith on it. The reason is that in the past more 50 years, nearly all party members have devoted themselves to national liberation. Now, in national building and in the face of more difficulties, the party requires that its members make more sacrifices. To show an eagerness to live in comfort or a lack of ardor and responsibility in one's duties--big as well as small--amounts to sowing the seeds of moral decay.

To make our party truly pure, strong, and stable, I suggest that the CPV Congress consider ideological indoctrination an extremely important battlefield.

Ideological awareness can tear down all inertness, paving the way for absolute compliance with party lines and policies, comprehensive renovation, and a steady effort to move ahead and cross the first thorny part of the transitional period.

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DEMOCRACY UNDER SOCIALISM REDEFINED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GLAI PHONG in Vietnamese 26 Oct 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Duong Van Dieu: "Democracy, A Great Popular Demand"]

[Excerpt] In anticipation of this year's national congress, our party launched a campaign of criticism and self-criticism, including a review of revolutionary behavior. This is an opportunity for us to meet face to face with our conscience, aspirations, and people--the loyal friends with whom we fought hand in hand in a hard and protracted war and whom we have pledged to attend devotedly as servants. More than 10 years have elapsed. Ten years is not a short moment in human life. But what have the people gotten? What are the things they should have gotten? And what is the extent of our responsibility in all these acquisitions and losses? Keeping tabs on recent critiques, the people hoped to see a model of valiant and sincere self-criticism on television and in the press, but regrettably they were not satisfied. An exemplar is what they have been dying for. While our compatriots were hit by typhoons and floods (even in the Mekong River delta, the nation's rice granary, tens of thousands went to bed with an empty stomach, and nearly 1,000 households in our own city had at times to eat potage, in place of a solid rice meal), was there anyone eager to feel contrite for making gasoline-wasting pleasure trips, indulging in eating binges that cost guest several thousand dong, occupying luxurious villas oblivious to the wretched fate of homeless families living under bridges and verandas, receiving expensive gifts, and purchasing television sets and modern motorcycles for a song—an insult to the underfed and underclothed troops in border posts and on distant islands and to countless workers and civil servants who were unable to buy rice for their families with their wages?

Democracy should be organized and regulated. On this respect, much remains to be done. However, no less important is the fact that democracy also involves one's hearts, feelings, conscience, and moral conduct. Do we realize that by forcing the people to grease our palms, loudly threatening a citizen of independent and heroic Vietnam, or bullying a compatriot or comrade because of an obscure personal reason, we have clouded our conscience, cast aside human feeling, and trampled upon our moral heritage and national pride?

During the war, we lived in the jungle, away from the people, but our hearts were close to theirs. Now, although we remain in daily and hourly contact with them, it seems that we are poles apart.

A fact of great importance is that democracy and truthfulness must mix--as in a symbiosis. There can be no democracy without truthfulness. To deliver erroneous information and tell falsehoods amounts to behaving undemocratically toward others, thus showing no respect either for the latter, or for oneself. The tendency to embellish facts, exaggerate accomplishments, and play down mistakes still abounds. Quite a few cadres still want to listen to flattering words and reports that suit their tastes, unwilling to permit debate, ready to reject lower-level input, and unable to see that, in fact, "truth stems not from directives but rather from debate."

Democracy cannot thrive on two sets of discipline, laws, and orders. It is inexcusable, whenever a mistake has been made, to fire low-level cadres while "granting immunity" to higher echelons. In response to a worker's question, Comrade Gorbachev stated: "There is a single code of laws for everyone, and a single code of discipline for everyone."

Democracy means that superior echelons should behave democratically toward their subordinates and the latter should exercise their right to democracy. This is a two-way street. Formerly, we usually explained the expression "proletarian dictatorship" as "dictatorship toward the enemy and democracy toward the people." The democracy-toward-the-people concept easily misleads because it implies that someone is above the people and is in charge of threatening them democratically. Comrade Truong Chinh wrote: "All citizens have the same responsibilities, duties, and interests and are equal before the law and in society."

Turning a deaf ear to low-level input is a deep-rooted evil. A great many cadres did not have to wait until 1986 to see--as Truong Chinh put it--that "whenever a transformation campaign was launched, production went down, distribution and circulation stalled, the marketplace deteriorated, and commodities ran short," and that "the number of private merchants has increased in proportion to the expansion of socialist transformation." Mistakes persisted and difficulties piled up because higher echelons have not listened to their subordinates and because the latter have not come up with tangible criticisms.

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ARTICLE REVIEWS 1981-1985 AGRICULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Hanoi TAP CHI KE HOACH HOA in Vietnamese Sep 86 pp 31-33

[Article by Kim Anh Toan: "Achievements on Agricultural Front in 1981-1985"]

[Text] In the past 5 years (1981-1985), having overcome all difficulties caused by natural disasters and by the enemy and difficulties having to do with materials and a serious lack of balance in the material and technical base, our country's working farmers, with support from the worker class and by new party and state policies, scored great achievements on the agricultural production front.

The value of gross agricultural production increased at a rather fast rate, and there were initial changes, not too great and still irregular, in the crop cultivation and animal raising patterns (see table 1).

Table 1

Year	Value of gross output (in fixed 1982 prices)	Allocation percentage	
		Crop growing	Animal raising
1980	71.7 (in billions of dong)	79.4	20.6
1981	73.9	77.0	23.0
1982	82.3	77.8	22.2
1983	85.0	76.3	23.7
1984	89.5	76.5	23.5
1985	91.3	76.7	23.3

The planned allocation of animal raising in the period of 1976-1980 was 20.1 percent and in eased in this period to 23.4 percent; animal husbandry was becoming a sector that helped to step up intensive cultivation measures in crop growing.

Grain and foods, the focal point of agricultural production, showed remarkable achievements as we exceeded for the first time the ceiling of 300 kilograms in per capita production of grain (converted to paddy equivalent), particularly in rice production, but regrettably not in the production of subsidiary food crops, which did not cause any considerable changes in grain crop production.

Table 2 — Volume of grain production

Yearly average	Grain output (converted to paddy equivalent) (in millions of tons)	Percentage of subsidiary food crops in grain production	Per capita grain output (kilograms)
1976-1980	13.5	18.0	262
1981-1985	16.9	14.0	295
1981	15.0	16.7	274
1982	16.8	14.6	295
1983	17.0	13.4	296
1984	17.8	12.6	304
1985	18.2	12.6	304

The above results obtained in grain production were mainly due to the fact that we had thoroughly understood the intensive cultivation measures, first of all in rice growing and to some extent in the growing of subsidiary food crops. Consequently the crop yields of both did increase (see table 3).

Table 3

Yearly average	Annual rice crop yield quintals/hectare	Subsidiary crop yield (converted to paddy equivalent) quintals/hectare
1976-1980	20.3	20.4
1981-1985	25.7	19.7
1981	22.2	19.4
1982	24.8	19.4
1983	26.3	19.3
1984	27.5	20.1
1985	27.8	20.6

There were many good examples in the practice of intensive cultivation in connection with rice growing, with more than 260 cooperatives and production collectives having obtained more than 10 tons/hectare/year and, in some cases, even more than 20 tons/hectare/year, and 43 districts more than 8 tons/hectare/year.

The area devoted to rice cultivation did not increase much: The yearly average was 5,438,000 hectares for the 1976-1980 period and only 5,672,000 hectares for the 1981-1986 period. On the other hand, the area devoted to subsidiary food crops showed a decrease: 1.4 million hectares in average for the 1979-1980 period, but down to 1.14 million hectares in the years of 1983-1985.

More industrial crops, both annual and perennial, were grown, with the specialized cultivation zones devoted to some industrial crops being created for the first time. The areas devoted to industrial crops, both annual and perennial, did increase: in average 317,700 hectares of annual industrial crops and 228,900 hectares of perennial industrial crops per year in the 1976-1980 period increasing to 517,400 and 351,100 hectares, respectively, in the 1981-1985 period. The volumes of production of some industrial crops were as follows (see table 4):

Table 4 (in thousands of tons)

Product	Highest annual output in 1976-1980 period	1984	1985
Sugar cane	4,388.0	6,567.0	5,560.0
Peanut	98.4	165.8	202.4
Soy bean	32.0	69.2	79.1
Tobacco	25.6	33.0	36.1
Jute	31.0	50.5	46.3
Rush	80.1	92.0	125.8
Dried tea buds	21.5	27.4	32.9
Coffee beans	8.4	4.5	7.1
Rubber	43.3	47.1	47.8
Coconut	326.0	522.0	612.0

Other crop groups, particularly vegetables, leguminous plants, and fruit trees, showed increases but stable production.

Animal husbandry showed good growth, both quantitative and qualitative, and relative stability, with more domestic animals and domestic fowls being raised in one year than in the previous year and with more uniformity being observed in the raising of domestic animals of all kinds. Animal husbandry products were also increased (see table 5).

Table 5

Product	Annual average in 1976-80 period	1985
Water buffaloes (thousands)	2,292.7	2,590.2
Cows (thousands)	1,633.0	2,597.6
Hogs (thousands)	9,291.6	11,797.6
Domestic fowls (millions)	59.4	91.8
Meat, live weight (thousand tons)	429.9	748.7
Eggs (millions)	1,108.3	472.0
Milk (tons)	1,706.0	4,342.0

Thanks to production increases and to the fact that policies had been improved and purchase prices of agricultural products for the first time had been adjusted (although irrational aspects remained in comparison with values of agricultural materials and prices of industrial products), the state was able to purchase more agricultural products. In the 2 years of 1984 and 1985, the state purchased an average of nearly 3.9 million tons of grain (converted to paddy equivalent), or nearly 1.7 times its purchases in 1980; 236,000 tons of pork (live weight), or nearly twice the 1980 figure; 92 million eggs, or 1.35 times its purchases in 1980.

Attention was paid to forest protection and afforestation, along with the adoption of the policy of "assigning land and forest" to cooperatives and cooperative members; as a result, the areas of afforestation, which decreased in 3 years (1981-1983) compared to 1980, began to exceed the 1980 figure and

since 1984 averaged each year 121,000 hectares, but timber production in the past 5 years remained lower than the 1980 level. In 1984-1985, the average annual production was 1,453,000 cubic meters of round timbers. The protection of and caring for forests remained far from good, with the areas of afforested land remaining small and the areas of forests destroyed by fire and by indiscriminate exploitation still being very excessive.

Attention was paid to raising marine products, with the areas devoted to fish raising and the volume of production of fresh water fish both showing increases: 160,000 tons in 1980, 180,000 tons in 1981, and more than 200,000 tons from 1983 on. In 5 years the state purchased a total of more than 751,000 tons of fish of all kinds: in 1984-1985 alone, each year it obtained more than 180,000 tons, or twice the 1980 purchase figure. Sea fishing, which had been decreasing from 1977 to 1980, had an increase in 1981 and reached 570,000 tons in 1984-1985, although this figure was still less than the 1976 catch of 610,000 tons.

The agricultural production relationships in Nam Bo were transformed, with 82.82 percent of farmer households having joined cooperatives or production collectives. Attention began to be paid to perfecting the new production relationships in the country as a whole, in spite of the fact that it was rather late and that many problems remained unresolved.

The state supported farmers by continuing to invest capital in agriculture, which amounted to more than one-fifth of the total capital invested in the material production sector; the production of phosphate and nitrate fertilizers showed increases (516,400 tons of phosphate fertilizers of all kinds in 1985 and 30,800 tons of urea nitrate fertilizer in 1984) well beyond the highest level reached in the previous 5-year period, with continued increases in the quantities of imported chemical fertilizers and insecticide (in 1984-1985, an average of 1.5 million tons of fertilizers was imported, or 3.6 times the 1980 level); scientific and technical progresses were applied to agricultural production; and new policies on management, relations between the state and farmers, and so on were adopted.

The above-mentioned achievements were factors that contributed to our country's agriculture making remarkable steps in the past 5 years. However, because of slow improvement, a lack of synchronized solutions, changes unsuitable for both requirements and capabilities, confusion arising from our efforts to resolve problems in national and regional agricultural production, and a lack of determination and concentration on the hard-core problems of agricultural production, we have failed to promote steady leaps in agricultural production as we wished we could.

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LIMITATIONS ON USE OF FEMALE LABORERS PUBLISHED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 25 Sep 86 p 2

[Article: "List of Jobs Excluding the Use of Female Laborers"]

[Text] SAIGON GIAI PHONG on 23 September 1986 carried a report on "Regulations on Jobs Excluding the Use of Female Laborers" in accordance with Joint Circular No 09/TT-LB of the Ministries of Labor and Public Health of 29 August 1986. In this issue, we publish the entire list of 106 jobs in 16 sectors and crafts that exclude the use of female laborers.

I. Metallurgy and Machinery

1. Directly melt metals or pour hot liquid metals.
2. Roll hot metals.
3. Directly refine color metals (copper, lead, mercury, zinc, or silver).
4. Roll, stretch, or punch lead products and lead-plated products.
5. Heat up coking furnaces.
6. Break up molds.
7. Clean up boilers and gas pipes.
8. Weld lead storage batteries, weld in a closed container, or weld at an altitude of 10 meters or more.

II. Atomic Energy

1. All jobs requiring contact with a patent source of radioactivity.

III. Chemicals and Rubber Processing

1. Produce, wrap, or maintain regular contact with anilin.
2. Directly produce phosphorus, arsenic, or arsenic compounds.
3. Produce, pack, or maintain regular contact with gasoline, paints, or lead-containing printing inks.
4. Maintain regular contact with manganese dioxide or mercury.
5. Heat up furnaces to dry pyrite ore, assimilate, or refine gas, or use bromic acid to filter electric dust or eliminate slags in the production of sulfuric acid).
6. Produce nitric acid or natrisulfate.
7. Produce carbon disulfur.

8. Weld lead storage batteries, weld in a closed container, or weld at an altitude of 10 meters or more.

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6. Produce nitric acid or natri sulfate.
7. Produce carbon disulfur.
8. Produce phosgene.
9. Distill or bottle benzene solvents or other products similar to benzene.
10. Electrolyze, liquefy, bottle, or handle chlorine (in the production of chlorhydric acid).
11. Heat up furnaces to dry ores or grind them to manufacture superphosphate (in the production of superphosphate).
12. Operate or remove slags from coal gas furnaces, regenerate copper solutions, or operate urea pressing machines (in the production of nitrate fertilizer).
13. Operate furnaces to produce open-hearth acetylene, or grind calcium carbide manually.
14. Regenerate lead, melt lead alloys, cast lead bearings or lead cells, or mix tar and use it to coat up battery cell walls (in the production of storage batteries).
15. Produce wrappings for or maintain regular contact with various kinds of highly toxic insecticides, herbicides, raticides, disinfectants, or moth repellents including:
 - Arsenic and arsenic salts.
 - Phosphor zinc, phosphor aluminum, or hydrophosphor.
 - Phosphoric acid, chlorhydric acid, cyanhydric acid or cyanhydric acid salts.
 - Chlopicrin.
 - Nitrobenzene.
 - Organic mercury.
 - Organic phosphorus (etylparation, metylparation..)
 - Organic chlorine (various kinds of DDT or 666).
16. Repair chemical equipment including furnaces, containers, closed stills, or subterranean pipes.
17. Mix, measure, or process chemicals in the production of rubber.
18. Vulcanize, pack, load, or unload large-size rubber products such as fuel containers or automobile tires.
19. Work in kilns to sublimate rubber resin.

IV. Geological Work and Mining

1. Plant land survey poles.
2. Engage in repairing or in mechanical and electrical work as part of a land survey mobile team.
3. Dig kilns or mine shafts.
4. Work in mining faces (including transportation work).
5. Drill holes to find ores or drill holes in place and fire dynamite.
6. Grind or mix ores or raw materials in an environment where dust content exceeds 10 percent of silicic dioxide.
7. Select lead ore.

V. Oil Prospection and Exploitation

1. Assemble or install oil drilling platforms.
2. Drill to find oil and gas.
3. Work on floating drilling platforms on the sea (except for public health and social work).

VI. Electrical Work and Postal Communications

1. Repair lead-plated communication cables or weld cable boxes.
2. Repair open-air electric wires or high-tension power wires or plant high-tension power pylons.
3. Build or repair river-spanning pylons or antenna poles.
4. Build or repair underground or aboveground cables or communication wires.

VII. Light Industry

1. Mix or process chloride.
2. Maintain regular contact with hypochloride.
3. Regularly mix or process products in direct contact with the dye anilin.
4. Boil glass or blow glass by mouth.
5. Plate chromium or cyanide.
6. Operate a boiler to prepare phenolic resin or roll or press phenolic plastic.
7. Print flower designs on thin film or print labels on thin paper.
8. Operate yarn-mercurizing machines.
9. Make photographic emulsions.
10. Immerse hides in chemical or salted solutions.
11. Peel raw hides.
12. Roll or press big and hard hides.

VIII. Food Industry

1. Work in places where tobacco is fermented or where cigarettes are dried.
2. Cover liquor vats with paraffin.
3. Slaughter large-size cattle.
4. Operate pressing or filtering machines in sugar factories.
5. Can milk in closed shops.

6. Paint and remove rust in caves where beer yeast is stored.
7. Dissolve or dredge foul powders.

IX. Construction

1. Work in immersed containers.
2. Fix or adjust large construction boards.
3. Dig wells.
4. Dig up tree roots with a diameter in excess of 40 cm.
5. Pry up mountain rocks.
6. Use hand tools that are powered by compressed air with pressures exceeding 4 atmospheres (such as drilling and crushing machines).
7. Attach loads to cranes.
8. Operate heavy-duty construction equipment exceeding 36 horsepower such as power shovels, bulldozers, or tractors.

X. Communications and Transportation

1. Light the furnace of a steam-engine locomotive.
2. Pilot a train.
3. Cleanse steam boilers.
4. Paint, weld, or remove rust in a closed container.
5. Soak rail sleepers in chemical solutions.
6. Carry more than 50 kg on one's shoulders.
7. Work as a ship captain and with a crew.
9. Drop anchor or equilibrate a ship.
10. Operate a steam boiler.
11. Pilot a floating bridge.
12. Carry coal on a ship's lower deck.
13. Roll or forge steel to make hulls or assemble them.
14. Pour concrete under water.
15. Survey a river route.
16. Operate a dredger.
17. Work as a sea diver.
18. Drive a motor vehicle with a load capacity exceeding 2.5 tons.

XI. Printing

1. Melt lead, pour liquid lead into molds, or refine type casts.
2. Cleanse deep-printing molds with acid.

XII. Marine Products

1. Catch fish, shrimp, or other marine products on the sea.

XIII. Agriculture

1. Process feathers.
2. Tend buffalos or cattle on high mountains.
3. Purchase or transport buffalos or cattle.
4. Drive agricultural tractors exceeding 50 horsepower.

XIV. Forestry

1. Cut big trees.
2. Haul big logs.
3. Pry up, load, or unload big logs manually.
4. Steer lumber rafts down a river amid dangerous rapids.
5. Saw wood manually (with two people handling the saw).
6. Dive into water to fish for sunken lumber.

XV. Supplies

1. Deliver, receive, or store gasoline and oil in subterranean tanks.
2. Operate gasoline or oil pumps in subterranean tanks.
3. Measure gasoline or oil in subterranean tanks.

XVI. Public Services

1. Dredge subterranean drains.
2. Immerse in dirty or foul water.
3. Dissect corpses, put the dead in coffins or bury them, or move a body from one grave to another (in order to secure better geomantic conditions).

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HON GAY MINERS PLEDGE TO PRODUCE MORE COAL.

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 11 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Minh Cuong: "Workers in Hon Gay Mining Zone Strive To Produce More Coal for Fatherland"]

[Text] Exactly 50 years ago, on 12 November 1936, more than 10,000 miners in Cam Pha went on strike to demand a wage increase and improvement in work conditions and living standards. Eight days into the walkout, company officials were compelled to come to the workers' terms. A few days later, in a spin-off of the Cam Pha successful action, Hon Gay miners struck. The strike spread from the mechanical factory to the coking shop, the sieving shop, the port, the electric power station on Pier 5, Ha Lam, and Ha Tu. The entire system--mining, transporting, processing, sieving, filtering, loading, and unloading--ground to a halt. By 8 am on 28 November 1936, however, management caved in, increasing labor wages by 25 percent. The struggle of 30,000 miners carried the day.

Since then, the miners' indomitable fighting spirit has translated into a campaign to unshackle themselves, liberate the nation, and produce more and more coal for the fatherland. During the war of resistance against French colonialism, miners struggled to defend the then fledgling revolutionary administration. When peace was first restored, the enemy bent over backward to sabotage production, prompting miners to rise up to protect production and machinery, oppose evacuation to the south, and embark on a vigorous campaign to turn out a large quantity of coal for the fatherland. Miners have strived to master science, technology, and production management on their own, enabling them to surpass prewar production figures within a short period of time. Total coal production reached 2,464,090 tons in 1960 and 4,261,000 tons in 1965, compared with 1,720,000 tons in 1939.

Following the signing of the Paris accords, especially following total liberation of the south, Hon Gay mining cadres and workers kept fostering the tradition of unwavering struggle in productive labor. Shortly after the war, equipment and machinery were moved, assembled, and installed, and promptly put into commission. Due to state solicitude, material facilities in the mining zone have expanded. Compared with 1975, many kinds of equipment and machinery have increased 2-3 times, and the contingent of scientific and technical cadres has almost doubled. Because of a sluggish economy, coal production has gotten

into a scrape, particularly in the wake of the massive repatriation of Vietnamese of Chinese origin in 1978-79 and the ensuing border war; but Hon Gay cadres and workers continued to go out of their way to overcome snags and turn out more coal. A movement to develop initiatives and improve skills has expanded rather enthusiastically among workers and civil servants, recording 524 initiatives in 1975, 1,030 in 1980, and 2,465 in 1985, generating millions of dong in profit for the state, and contributing to solving difficulties, raising labor productivity, and lowering production costs. The mining zone has gradually improved labor organization and production, steered production toward specialization, and arranged production lines more rationally by assigning each unit to a part of the production process--mining and transporting coal, removing earth and stone, sieving and selecting coal, and providing services. Currently, the Hon Gay Federation of Coal Enterprises includes 37 units engaged in production and support of production and 12 administrative bureaus. These enterprises have streamlined the functions of cadres step by step, reorganizing production, reducing nonproductive personnel, increasing direct production, and making production management more efficient in the process. Little by little, mechanical units, work shifts, and worksites were involved in product contracting. Likewise, production management has grown into a pattern, keeping directors posted on production and daily developments, and coordinating production components with production factors smoothly. As a result, the emulation movement to produce coal has developed considerably, boasting continuous annual increases--4,515,688 tons in 1975, 4,576,294 tons in 1980, and 5,118,263 tons in 1985. During the 1955-85 period, the Hon Gay mining zone produced 99,293,000 tons of coal and removed 374,806,000 cubic meters of earth and stone.

Aware that this year is a year of political events of momentous importance--the Sixth CPV National Congress and the 50th anniversary of Miners' Traditional Day--mining cadres and workers are turning their minds to the party, taking part enthusiastically in the "emulation movement to produce more coal as a salute to the CPV Sixth National Congress." The federation has strived to fulfill its production norms--5.5 million tons of raw coal, 4.7 million tons of washed coal, and 21.87 million tons of earth and stone--to save 5-10 percent on quota supplies and to produce an additional quantity of coal in response to a call by Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers, during his visit to the mine at the beginning of the year. Statistics submitted by 18 units show that 34 projects were named after the Sixth CPV National Congress and that 24 worksites and subshops and 539 party cells have pledged to surpass the state plan by 12 November. Spurred on by seething emulation, the Hon Gay mining zone has established a new coal production record in the third quarter, usually the toughest one of any year. In August alone, a blanket increase over the same month last year was recorded--raw coal, 59 percent; washed coal, 48.9 percent; removal of earth and stone, 59.7 percent; and pit-digging yardage, 19.5 percent.

Nevertheless, flaws still remain--unstandardized supplies and equipment, imbalanced production, and the laggard removal of earth and stone. Some years, due to a focus on quantitative coal production, earth and stone removal trailed

behind, causing accumulation. At a big mine, it would take all its equipment to cease extracting coal for 2 years in order to be able to clean up the mess. Slack removal of earth and stone will cause difficulties to coal production in the coming years. This was compounded further by the recent policy of allowing an outside labor force to pick up coal scraps in the mining zone. As a result of loose management and the participation of too many units, production and consumption in some places were disturbed, giving rise to negative phenomena.

These remaining flaws are being overcome by degrees by the federation of coal enterprises. In light of the 50-year tradition of the mining zone, we believe that cadres and workers will translate past heroism into revolutionary deeds, striving to turn out more and more coal for the fatherland and meet greater and greater requirements of economic development and living standards while advancing on the road toward socialism.

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